In The Matter Of:

Project Veritas Acton Fund v. Daniel F. Conley, et al.

Robert Joel Halderman April 6, 2017

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UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT 1 DISTRICT OF MASSACHUSETTS 2 EASTERN DIVISION 3 C.A. No. 1:16-cv-10462-PBS 4 5 6 PROJECT VERITAS ACTION FUND, 7 Plaintiff, 8 vs. DANIEL F. CONLEY, in his 9 official capacity as Suffolk 10 11 County District Attorney, 12 Defendant. 13 14 DEPOSITION OF ROBERT JOEL HALDERMAN, 15 individually and as corporate designee of Project Veritas Action Fund, a witness called on behalf of 16 the Defendant, taken pursuant to the applicable 17 provisions of the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure 18 19 before Cynthia A. Powers, Professional Shorthand 20 Reporter and Notary Public in and for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, at the Office of the 21 22 Attorney General, One Ashburton Place, Boston, 23 Massachusetts, on Thursday, April 6, 2017, 24 commencing at 8:58 a.m.

		2
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1	PROCEEDINGS
2	ROBERT JOEL HALDERMAN,
3	
4	having been satisfactorily identified
5	and duly sworn by the Notary Public,
6	was examined and testified as follows:
7	
8	DIRECT EXAMINATION
9	BY MR. HASKELL:
10	Q. Good morning, Mr. Halderman.
11	A. Good morning.
12	Q. We met just a moment ago when you
13	arrived. My name is Eric Haskell. I'm an assistant
14	attorney general. With me is assistant AG Matt
15	Landry. Together we are representing the Defendant
16	in the case that Project Veritas Action Fund has
17	brought against the DA, Dan Conley and, in effect,
18	the Commonwealth of Massachusetts relating to
19	Massachusetts wiretapping statute. So far so good?
20	A. Yes.
21	Q. Have you been deposed before?
22	A. Yes.
23	Q. And how many times?
24	A. Twice.

19 1 Q. You mentioned a moment ago something about being arrested, convicted --2 Α. 3 Yes. -- and spending some time at Rikers 4 Q. Island Jail in New York City. Can we pull out of 5 6 your stack of exhibits there what was marked as 7 Exhibit 28? Α. Yes. 8 Plaintiff's supplemental responses to a 9 Ο. set of request for admissions. Let me ask you to 10 11 turn to page three, request for admission number 12. 12 Α. Yes. And so that request for admission had 13 Q. 14 asked PVA to admit that the Robert J. Halderman whom 15 you identify in your initial disclosure as executive 16 producer is the same person who on or about March 9, 2010, pled quilty to and was convicted of attempted 17 18 grand larceny by extorsion in violation of the New 19 York Penal Code in People versus Halderman IND 20 number 4957/2009, Supreme Court of New York County Criminal Term, and these responses admit that fact. 21 Mm-hmm. 22 Α. 23 Q. Is that Robert J. Halderman described in 24 number 12 you?

20 1 A. Yes, indeed. Are those facts accurate? 2 Q. 3 Indeed, they are. A. Is it accurate to say that the 4 Q. 5 circumstances that led to that conviction were you 6 sought to obtain money from a person in exchange for 7 you not publicizing certain information you had about that person? 8 Well, you could interpret it that way. 9 A. I interpret it as jealous rage and an act of -- how 10 11 do I phrase it -- somewhat kind of ridiculousness to 12 the point of absurdity. The charge was that, yes. 13 Is it fair to say that what you pled quilty to was seeking to obtain money from a person 14 15 in exchange for you not publicizing information you 16 had about that person? Indeed. 17 Α. MR. HASKELL: Off the record. 18 19 (Discussion held off the record) 20 BY MR. HASKELL: Can I ask you, Mr. Halderman, to look at 21 Q. 22 Exhibit 1 and Exhibit 2, which should be all the way 23 at the bottom of that stack in front of you. Let's 24 actually look just at Exhibit 1 first.

21 1 A. Okay, yep. Have you seen that document before? 2 Q. A. Yes, I have. 3 Let's flip to Exhibit 2. 4 Q. Yes, and I have looked at this. 5 Α. 6 0. So, Exhibit 2 designates you to speak on 7 behalf of PVA in response to certain topics that my clients identified in this case; is that right? 8 Yes, sir. 9 A. Okay. And what do you understand to 10 Q. 11 be -- let me rephrase that. What is the obligation 12 to speak on behalf of PVA on those topics mean to 13 you in your own words? 14 Well, as I understand it and based on A. 15 what I have read here, this actually is a definition 16 of what my expertise is and this is -- I'm the executive producer of Project Veritas. 17 18 integrally involved in our investigations and have 19 been since I started four years ago. 20 I also review most, if not all, of our have videotape and recording, both video and audio 21 22 I also am responsible for producing our recording. 23 product which we release on the Internet and through 24 our website. So, my responsibilities are

22 1 essentially the journalism, overseeing the 2 journalism. James O'Keefe is integrally involved in 3 that process as well. I'm sort of the nuts and 4 5 bolts quy. When the tape comes in, I sit down and 6 watch it with one of my editors, and we talk about 7 We'll send stuff out for transcription. figure out the storyline. We evolve the story to 8 sort of solidify what we have found. That's what I 9 do. 10 11 Q. And you spoke a moment ago about being 12 integrally involved in Project Veritas and PVA's 13 investigations. Is that all of their 14 investigations? 15 Pretty much. I mean, I was thinking A. about this the other day. There are things -- there 16 are times when I have been on vacation or I've been 17 18 involved in one of the investigations where there's 19 other stuff going on that I'm not as -- I know 20 what's going on. It's a small organization, and it's a 21 22 It's a very close knit team. small team. 23 collaborate and certainly, you know, in the first couple of years, '14, '15, you know, there was, 24

23 1 like, four or five of us. So, it wasn't like we had to send memos out. You know what I mean? 2 I would yell, Russ, what's going on. 3 He'd say, oh, I don't know. So, it was a small 4 5 office and we were -- we all are very likable 6 In fact, we all get along exceedingly well. 7 There's open discussion about what's going on. So, you're in the middle of everything? 8 0. Try to be or at least know what's going 9 Α. 10 That's part of what my responsibility is and 11 what I try to do. 12 That sounds good. Looking at Exhibit 2, Q. 13 the topics that you're listed as a designee for, 14 have you had a chance to look through those topics? 15 Yep, I have. A. 16 Q. And are you knowledgeable and prepared to testify about each of those topics? 17 18 A. Absolutely. 19 Let me ask, Mr. Halderman, what did you Ο. 20 do to prepare for this deposition today? Well, I kind of -- I went through --21 Α. 22 Mr. Klein sent me a lot of these documents, and I 23 looked through them to make sure that I was aware and recalled -- so, like, you know, you list the 24

25 1 Q. I see. You said that you reviewed some films as well. When we talk about a film that you 2 produce and is finalized and released to the public, 3 is it fair if we call that a video report? 4 Α. Sure. 5 6 Ο. So, the films that you reviewed to get 7 ready for deposition today, were those the published 8 video reports? Yeah, and I only looked at that one 9 Α. because I couldn't remember it. I went to the 10 website and clicked on it. So, that's the finished 11 12 report. The term "raw video," does that mean 13 Q. 14 anything to you? 15 Α. Yes. What's it mean? 16 Q. The unedited versions of our tapes. 17 Α. 18 When a journalist -- or in my old days, you would 19 shoot an hour. You would go to a fire, and you 20 would shoot thirty minutes, and you would cut it down to two minutes so you could sell it to the 21 local TV stations. 22 Raw video means full unedited video --23 Q. 24 Α. Correct.

26 1 Q. -- that underlies a video report or whatever the produced version is? 2 A. Correct. 3 Did you review any raw video --4 Q. 5 Α. No. 6 0. -- to prepare to testify today? 7 I reviewed all of the raw video in most Α. That's what I do. That's my job. 8 cases. In the case of, let's say, take, for example, the Grimes 9 story, the Alison Grimes in Kentucky; right? 10 11 Tennessee. Kentucky. I remember when we did that 12 investigation. I remember watching the tape when it 13 came in. 14 There was a number of undercover 15 journalists involved in that situation. I remember picking the sound bites, and I remember constructing 16 it in a certain way that tells the best story. 17 18 I'm proud of that story. I thought it 19 was interesting that we were able to expose this 20 politician's hypocrisy in order to be elected. 21 was willing to lie to her potential voters to get elected. 22 23 Q. Let's talk about the Grimes 24 investigation. So, how did that investigation

31 1 Q. What does that mean to you? 2 A. Well, there's a guy named John Legend. By the way, wasn't his name. He change his name to 3 John Legend, which I think is real arrogant. 4 legend is someone or a story that has great import 5 6 or value to certain people. 7 Q. Okay. What about a journalist's cover, what does that term mean to you, cover? 8 In undercover reporting and 9 Α. investigative undercover reporting, often 10 11 journalists who use that method have to come up with 12 an alias or a cover story. This is also quite 13 typical in law enforcement in undercover 14 investigations by law enforcement. 15 By the way, it is a very common way, and 16 law enforcement is another argument for this; that, you know, it's proven that without the ability of 17 18 law enforcement to go undercover they wouldn't be 19 able to expose certain criminal activity. 20 validates the idea of undercover work. I think it both catches bad guys in the 21 22 criminal world and exposes wrongdoers in the public 23 world. Yeah, so basically if we have a journalist who is, let's say, investigating a -- let's say that 24

1 we were going to investigate the Flint water situation where there's unbelievable lead levels in 2 3 the public water system in Michigan. Perhaps we would present ourselves as an industrial plumbing 4 5 expert and go up there and talk to the people about 6 the situation there in order to try to understand 7 how this occurred, how it happened. If we've read much of the Flint case, 8 that was public officials who made some very, very 9 bad decisions that ended up creating a water 10 11 situation in Michigan that's extremely detrimental 12 to the health of its citizens. The way the journalist presents 13 themselves in your example as industrial plumbing 14 15 expert, that's their cover? 16 Α. Yes, sir. The journalist isn't an industrial 17 0. 18 plumbing expert? 19 He might be. You never know, but A. Nope. 20 rarely. So, going back to the Grimes 21 22 investigation, what covers did the PVA journalists 23 use to approach those folks affiliated with the 24 Grimes campaign?

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A. In that particular case, it was a relatively simple and non-sophisticated cover.

Basically what we will do is basically go in and volunteer to work for the campaign. Our journalist would say, I really like Alison Grimes. I would like to help the campaign.

Campaigns are pretty easy places to infiltrate and investigate. Certainly organizations are much more challenging to get into. Typically, campaigns are pretty easy. You don't have to be a real sophisticated undercover journalist in order to infiltrate a campaign.

I think in the case of Niko Elmaleh, I don't think we had a cover. We were in the bar and he was yakking. I don't think that the journalist in that case even presented any kind of cover whatsoever. He was more than willing to spout out his thesis without any real prompting even.

- Q. Did the journalist in that situation at the bar introduce themselves? Did they give a name?
 - A. I don't recall. I don't believe so.
- Q. Going back to what you were saying a moment ago, is it fair to say that in the time you've been with PVA, PVA has gone up a learning

36 1 It's a federal statute. It's a bad law. It hinders journalism in investigating the federal government. 2 Any time government makes a law that hinders the 3 freedom of the press, it's a bad law in my mind 4 because I think it violates the First Amendment. 5 6 Before we leave the Grimes 7 investigation, and we're going to be coming back to 8 the Democracy Partners investigation a little bit 9 later --One of my favorites. 10 A. There's a lot to talk about that. 11 Q. 12 A. Indeed. Before we leave the Grimes 13 Q. investigation, the PVA journalists who approached 14 15 the campaign volunteering to work, they were the 16 ones who made those undercover recordings of the Grimes campaign people --17 18 Α. Correct. 19 -- and obtained these statements that 0. 20 PVA then incorporated into the video report that it had published? 21 22 Α. Correct. 23 Did those journalists keep on working Q. the Grimes campaign afterwards? 24

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1 undercover journalism is always access. That's the biggest challenge. 2 What techniques does PVA and its 3 Q. journalists use to obtain access? 4 Well, the most important one is 5 Α. 6 likability, being a nice person, talking to people, 7 looking them in the eye, being friendly, being congenial. It's a lot of people skills. 8 essentially people skills. 9 For the most part, most of our 10 11 investigations, you know, we're trying to get 12 someone to tell us the truth. We don't want people to lie to us. We want people to tell us what's 13

16 concern, friendship maybe, at least on a superficial

relationship, a bond, trust, mutual interest, mutual

The process is to try to develop a

17 level.

really going on.

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In the Democracy Partners case, one of our journalists got an internship at Democracy Partners headquarters in Washington, D.C., and was there for quite some time going to work there on a regular basis and became quite friendly with the office staff and Robert Creamer, the man who was one of the Democracy Partners and I think the founder of

Democracy Partners.

Q. How did she swing that, the journalist?

A. It was a very -- that investigation was a very complicated and tricky investigation. We created a -- we had a -- it kind of -- there was actually a lit of serendipity to it on one level in that in the first instance of what we heard was a meeting that a political operative had with one of our journalists in Wisconsin. From that we were led to Democracy Partners.

We then created -- because we knew this was a political organization, this was a PVA investigation, we knew these people were involved in trying -- in the DNC campaign. We created for these folks the image -- we created a donor. We suggested that this donor wanted to donate to this effort.

17 The donor --

- Q. Suggested to whom?
- A. Suggested to our targets. In this case, it was Scott Foval who was the democratic operative who was based in Wisconsin. I can't remember the organization off the top of my head. I'm sure you have it there somewhere, and I'm sure Steve would know it if I asked him.

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1	A. I do.
2	Q. Exhibit 33, where was that video taken?
3	A. It was in a bar, I believe. I don't
4	think it was in Madison. I think it was in I'm
5	not sure. It might have been in Madison, Wisconsin,
6	but it was somewhere in Wisconsin. I don't remember
7	the location.
8	Q. Is that a Brewers pendant in the ground?
9	A. I believe so.
10	Q. The encounter in Exhibit 33, was that
11	the first encounter between the journalist and
12	Mr. Foval?
13	A. Yes, I believe it was.
14	Q. And the journalist has a chat with
15	Mr. Foval at this bar?
16	A. Yes.
17	Q. Captures the video there?
18	A. Yes.
19	Q. What happened next? Where did that take
20	the investigation next?
21	A. So, interestingly, because you've chosen
22	that particular photo and that particular moment, so
23	I probably know your work is a little bit like me
24	saying, oh, Eric, I've read some of your decisions,

44 1 you know, they're great, you're such a great lawyer, 2 even though I haven't. It's part of the techniques that we use. 3 Scott Foval was boasting about his work 4 as a democratic operative in the campaign and 5 6 talking about this bird-dogging thing. journalist said, oh, I probably know your work. 7 And that comment was designed to build 8 Ο. trust with --9 To build trust and boost his ego. 10 Α. Men 11 especially, much more so than woman, I think, men 12 love talking about themselves and love thinking 13 they're really smart and love thinking what they've 14 done is really important. If you can tell that to 15 men, then they tend to like you more and tend to 16 then tell you more. One way to do it is for journalists to 17 Ο. 18 say, I probably know your work --19 A. Right. 20 -- even though the journalist may or may 0. not have actually known Mr. Foval's work? 21 22 Α. Correct. 23 Q. So this interaction in Exhibit 33, the reporter builds the relationship with Mr. Foval, 24

45 1 kind of sets the hook so to speak? 2 This was a pretty easy fish to catch. Α. Foval was a very boastful, very kind of 3 self-important man who was involved in, we believe, 4 some pretty serious shenanigans on behalf of the 5 6 Democratic National Committee. 7 He was proud of the dirty tricks work, to use a Nixonian phrase, that he was doing on 8 behalf of the DNC. He believed that the undercover 9 journalist that he was talking to was a sympathetic 10 11 listener; that he was also a pro-DNC person who 12 would be supportive of these kinds of actions. 13 Is that the impression that the Q. journalist worked to give Mr. Foval? 14 15 A. Absolutely. 16 Q. So, by the way, what was the journalist's cover at this time, at the time of the 17 interaction in Exhibit 33? 18 19 His cover was pretty loose at that 20 It kind of got more sophisticated. had the initial conversation with Foval and we 21 22 realized he had quite a lot to say and he was 23 connected by virtue of Democracy Partners all the

way to both the Obama White House and the Clinton

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47 1 journalist's name, although he probably does now 2 because they're suing us, ridiculously, not because they say what we reported was wrong, but they're 3 suing us because what --4 Joe, just answer the MR. KLEIN: 5 6 question. 7 Α. I'm fascinated by this. We did not know Foval's name, I don't believe, until the 8 conversation kind of evolved at the bar. 9 10 Q. Okay. 11 Α. We meaning the undercover journalist. 12 Q. And so at the time of the conversation in the bar, Exhibit 33, the journalist has this kind 13 14 of loose, vague cover. Does PVA develop a more 15 sophisticated cover after this conversation in the 16 bar? Yeah, and that's -- that's typical for 17 A. 18 us. 19 0. Yeah. 20 If we kind -- you know, so many times we Α. don't know. We're journalists; right? So, we don't 21 22 know what we're going to find. We may have a tip. 23 We may have a suggestion from a friend or from a source who says, hey, you should go investigate this 24

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corrupt politician in this state or you should take a look at this company in this state or look at the voter fraud issue in this place. Then when we get there, if we find what we -- a lot of times we find something entirely different. We respond to that. We have to be flexible.

As a journalist you always have to accept what you think may be the story may not be the story, and you have to be open minded enough and flexible enough to then adjust your approach in order to get the story that you're being led toward.

- Q. Let me push on that a little bit. When PVA is doing an investigation, you know who the target is; right?
- A. Well, absolutely not. I just said in this case, one of our biggest investigations that we've ever done started with an encounter with somebody who we didn't even know his name.
- Q. Do you have at least an idea where you're going to encounter that person?
- A. I had no idea that when we sent an undercover journalist to Wisconsin to kind of take a look at what was going on with the primary that we were going to expose the facts that the DNC and the

49 1 Clinton campaign was sending people to Trump rallies to incite violence. 2 You can't say either then what your 3 Q. journalist is going to wind up recording? 4 Α. Correct. 5 6 0. Take it as you find it? 7 I think like every journalist Α. throughout the history of journalism, we don't know 8 what the answer to the questions are going to be 9 until the questions are asked. 10 11 Now, we being undercover journalists, we 12 ask the questions without people knowing that we're journalists, and I would suggest to you that that is 13 14 an incredibly powerful and successful way to elicit 15 the truth because we know very well that people 16 aren't always honest especially when they're in front of a TV camera. 17 18 So, in what eventually became the Ο. 19 Democracy Partners investigation, what happened 20 after this conversation in Exhibit 33? So, that journalist called us. 21 A. I don't 22 remember if he called me specifically or James

O'Keefe or what, but essentially he said, told us

that he thought he had something that was pretty

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57 1 years old, and as each day goes by, it's harder and 2 harder to remember names that I actually invented. I came up with this man's name. Charles. Charles. 3 Oh, God, I can see him. 4 We can go with Charles. 5 Q. 6 I got business cards for him. 7 created -- I invented him out of thin air. actually one of the fun parts of my job I would say. 8 Sounds creative. 9 Q. Yes, it is. It requires both a degree 10 A. 11 of imagination, but also it's got to be pointed. Ιt 12 has to be credible. It has to work. 13 Let me ask, why did PVA choose to create 14 this donor? 15 Α. Because we know, like most people who 16 know anything about American politics, that American politics is driven by money. Money is the engine 17 18 that drives the political process in this country 19 for good or for evil. I actually think it's 20 probably for evil, but that's neither here nor 21 there. 22 We knew that if we dangled the carrot of 23 a donation to this political organization they would be very nice to us. We knew based on, you know, our 24

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experience that -- for example, one of the people who works for our organization is a man named Russ Verney. Russ Verney is a sophisticated political operative and has a great and strong history and knowledge of the American political system. He knows how it works. He's an integral member of our leadership team. He was one of the people who said, yeah, offer them some money.

- Q. Creating a donor, first of all, it was part of creating this more complex sophisticated cover that you mentioned earlier, fair to say?
- A. Yeah, it was important for us. We felt that in order for us to be able to report the story accurately and with a degree of confidence that I like to have, the standard that I like to bring to our journalism, I wanted confirmation of what Foval said from numerous sources. I wanted to be able to on videotape, on audiotape, make the connection between Democracy Partners and Robert Creamer back to Scott Foval and forward to the Democratic National Committee and the Hillary Clinton campaign.
- Q. And creating the donor gave you additional access to do that?
 - A. Yes, we created the donor because we

59 1 believed that by creating the donor we could get a 2 meeting with Mr. Creamer. Did that come to pass? 3 Q. Yes, we had several meetings with 4 Α. Mr. Creamer. 5 6 How was the first meeting between the 7 donor and Mr. Creamer set up? I was actually there. It was in 8 A. Washington, D.C., at a hotel lobby. I want to say 9 10 it was the Marriott Marquee. I'm not 100 percent 11 sure which hotel it was. It was in Washington, 12 D.C., which is a one-party consent area, unlike the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. 13 14 We had the meeting in a hotel lobby. 15 Our undercover journalist was this Charles. And the 16 meeting took place. I was sitting across the way. I will go to some of these kinds of events because, 17 18 A, I think our -- our journalists are not typically 19 terribly experienced journalists. 20 I have a lot of experience in journalism. Oftentimes if I don't accompany them, I 21 22 will oftentimes have a conversation with them right 23 prior to a meeting where I will talk about what I 24 believe we're trying -- the information that the

60 1 story -- what the story is. I think that, as I said to you earlier, 2 I think that's one of my primarily responsibilities 3 is to help the organization determine and pursue a 4 5 story that is of journalistic value. 6 The PVA journalist who played the role 7 of the donor, Charles, I'm assuming that's a different journalist than the one who encountered 8 9 Mr. Foval at the bar at the hotel; right? Correct, different journalist. 10 Α. 11 Q. You had one of those pre-meeting 12 briefings with the Charles journalist before he met with Mr. Creamer? 13 14 A. Absolutely. 15 You were across the room while that 0. meeting took place? 16 17 Α. Correct. 18 0. Did Mr. Creamer know you were there? 19 He didn't know. He didn't know I was 20 connected to the person he was talking to. Question is, were you monitoring the 21 Q. 22 conversation between the Charles journalist and 23 Mr. Creamer? Of course. 24 Α.

	63
1	with Foval, third meeting with Foval, third meeting
2	with Creamer, as I recall.
3	Q. If we look at Exhibit 32 that we marked
4	a short time ago
5	A. Mm-hmm.
6	Q that's the third meeting with Foval
7	we're looking at there?
8	A. Correct.
9	MR. HASKELL: Let's mark this,
10	please.
11	(Marked Exhibit 35, Screen Shot)
12	BY MR. HASKELL:
13	Q. So, Exhibit 35 we just marked here,
14	which meeting is that? Actually, I'm sorry, let me
15	first withdraw that last question and first ask, do
16	you recognize Exhibit 35 as a still from the
17	Democracy Partners video report that PVA published?
18	A. Absolutely.
19	Q. Which meeting are we looking at in
20	Exhibit 35?
21	A. This is the first meeting with Robert
22	Creamer.
23	Q. That's the one in the Marriott lobby in
24	D.C.?

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A. 1 Don't hold me to that. I think it was 2 the Marriott. I travel a lot, and I stay in a lot of hotel, and I have some for forty some years. 3 They all kind of blend into each other. I believe 4 it was a Marriott Hotel in Washington, D.C. 5 6 a really nice hotel. This is the first meeting with 7 our undercover journalist and Mr. Robert Creamer in the lobby of that hotel. 8 Now, you had mentioned earlier that one 9 Q. of your undercover journalists eventually got an 10 11 internship. Was it with Mr. Creamer's outfit here? 12 A. Yes. How did that come to happen? 13 Q. 14 This was brilliant if I may say so A. 15 It may have been James O'Keefe's idea. myself. 16 I'll give James O'Keefe the credit. Once we developed the cover of the donor, they were so 17 18 solicitous to us, they just fell in love with us. 19 They thought we were the best thing in the world. 20 We were going to give them some money, and they were really happy about that. 21 22 We decided, let's leverage this a little Let's push it. In undercover journalism 23 bit. 24 generally you try push the envelope, try to ask for

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a little bit more and get a little bit more. We suggested that our donor, we had him tell Creamer that he had a niece who was really interested in politics and was really interested in getting involved in the campaign. Mr. Creamer said, well, that's great. We got people all over the place. We ended up sending our undercover journalist, a young woman journalist to Cleveland for the Republican primary. I think it was in Cleveland that year. It was Cleveland; right? Mm-hmm.

Bob Creamer connected our journalist's niece -- niece, I put that in quotes because she wasn't actually his niece and he wasn't a donor, but that was the cover story that he had a niece who was interested in politics. Mr. Creamer was able to connect our undercover journalist who was posing as the donor's niece to work for some people in Cleveland during the -- and there was a woman by the name of Zulema Rodriguez, I believe, who was part of that. Creamer corrected our niece undercover journalist to Zulema Rodriguez. Our undercover journalist did some work at the campaign building a fake brick wall to protest the Trump wall and some little things at the Republican primary.

66 1 During that part of the investigation, Ms. Rodriguez confirmed many of the initial 2 statements that we had heard from Mr. Foval about 3 the, quote-unquote, bird-dogging and otherwise 4 staging of protests and demonstrations at Trump 5 6 events. 7 In fact, she talked about a Chicago demonstration that turned quite violent during that 8 campaign year, and actually the law enforcement 9 authority closed down that event because it got too 10 violent in the streets. 11 12 Ms. Rodriquez said that she attended 13 that meeting and went there as a paid member of that organization, which again we were led to believe due 14 15 to the public narrative that these protests were 16 spontaneous but, in fact, we kept finding evidence and information that that was not so. 17 She also told us that she had done an 18 19 event in Arizona where they had partially blocked 20 the highway between Phoenix and Flagstaff, which is a major interstate running north-south in Arizona. 21 Let's mark this now. 22 MR. HASKELL: 23 (Marked Exhibit 36, Screen Shot) 24 BY MR. HASKELL:

67 1 Q. Exhibit 36, do you recognize that as a still from the video report on Democracy Partners 2 that PVA published? 3 Absolutely. 4 Α. And this was the Zulema Rodriguez you 5 Q. 6 were describing? 7 A. Absolutely. PVA's undercover journalist who was 8 0. posing as Charles's niece went out to Cleveland to 9 meet and work with Zulema Rodriguez? 10 That is correct. 11 Α. 12 Q. And let me ask, that undercover 13 journalist, is that the same woman who was at the 14 table for the second meeting with Mr. Foval in 15 Exhibit 34? 16 Α. No, it was a different journalist. So, we're up to at least four 17 0. 18 journalists at this point; the initial contact with 19 Mr. Foval, the woman who was at the second meeting 20 with Mr. Foval, the donor -- journalist who posed as the donor, and the journalist who posed as the 21 niece? 22 23 And myself who had a phone conversation A. So, I would say five. I like to 24 with Mr. Foval.

68 1 consider myself a journalist. You got it. Okay. So, Exhibit 36, 2 Q. where was this film taken? 3 Α. That was somewhere in Cleveland. 4 Cleveland. They had an office space near the 5 6 convention center where they did their sign painting and banners and sort of a workspace that they had 7 rented near the convention center. 8 And the PVA journalist posing as the 9 Q. niece, did she tell Ms. Rodriguez something to the 10 11 effect of I'm here to work with you for the time? 12 Α. Yeah, as I recall, Robert Creamer actually contacted Ms. Rodriguez and told 13 Ms. Rodriguez that our undercover journalist would 14 15 be coming to Cleveland and should be -- basically 16 vouched for our undercover journalist. Again, in our line of work in 17 18 investigative journalism, having somebody like 19 Creamer vouch for our journalist to Zulema Rodriguez 20 is huge because it gives instant credibility to that There's not the necessity to create an 21 person. 22 elaborate legend as you initially used that term. 23 Q. Okay. So, after the journalist posing

as the niece went to Cleveland and had these

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encounters with Ms. Rodriguez, what was the next thing that happened in the -- let me ask this. This was the next thing that happened in the course that led the niece to get the internship?

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A. Mm-hmm. Basically, as I recall, we then through the donor, the undercover journalist posing as the donor, we wanted to get more information about -- specifically, I was really interested in the connection between Democracy Partners and the Democratic National Committee. I felt that if we didn't solidify a true connection between those organizations that our story really wasn't as bulletproof as I wanted it to be. James felt the same way.

The idea was if we could have more conversations with Mr. Creamer, we would learn more information. Our general belief and philosophy, if you will, is that the more information we have the better off we are. The more solid our story is the more reliable and comfortable I will be in the production of and release of the story.

We came up with basically the ploy, if you will, the donor said to Mr. Creamer, well, my niece isn't in school this summer, and she would

70 1 love to do something in Washington to help the 2 campaign. Is there anything that you can suggest. I believe -- I'm not 100 percent sure, 3 but I'm pretty certain that Mr. Creamer suggested 4 that this niece, the undercover journalist, could 5 6 come to Washington, D.C., and be an intern at 7 Democracy Partners. The journalist posing as Charles, the 8 Ο. donor, was that his intention when he asked 9 10 Mr. Creamer for opportunities for the niece was the 11 hope that Mr. Creamer would offer her an opportunity 12 at Democracy Partners? I don't think we -- I don't think we had 13 Α. it all figured out. You know, so much of this and 14 15 so much of journalism is one thing leads to another. 16 I don't think we ever have some grand master plan. 17 I'm a chess player, and sometimes I can get about 18 five or six moves ahead. I'm never that in 19 iournalism. 20 A lot of what we do is based on what 21 with learn. We respond to what we learn and then we 22 develop our next move based on the knowledge that 23 we've accrued. 24 So, Mr. Creamer did offer the, quote, 0.

74 1 yeah, come on in. And you spoke earlier about PVA creating 2 Q. this donor, Charles. When you say create the donor, 3 what did PVA do to create the donor? 4 So, I thought of a name. I talked to 5 Α. 6 the undercover journalist who was the person who met 7 with Foval. We between us sort of created this story of this person. I got some business cards 8 I got an e-mail. I set up an e-mail account. 9 What else did I do? I think that's about all I did. 10 11 Again, in this particular case, we 12 didn't feel like they were going to get seriously In some investigations we do legend 13 building because we believe or our concern is that 14 15 we're going to be vetted reasonably, you know, by open source information. 16 So, we'll create a Facebook page, a 17 18 LinkedIn page. We've even gone so far in the past 19 of creating LLCs, offshore bank accounts. 20 lot of things because undercover journalism is a tricky, complicated business. 21 22 All of those things fall into the Q. 23 category of legend building you just mentioned? 24 A. Yeah, I guess, yes.

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1	Q. The e-mail account that you created for
2	this donor, Charles, was that e-mail account used as
3	part of the investigation?
4	A. Absolutely.
5	Q. And the business cards, were they used
6	as part of the investigation?
7	A. Absolutely.
8	Q. The journalist posing as Charles gave
9	out the business cards to who, Creamer?
10	A. Creamer. I think I had five hundred
11	printed. I think we gave out one.
12	MR. HASKELL: Let's go off the
13	record.
14	(Whereupon, a recess was taken)
15	BY MR. HASKELL:
16	Q. So, we left off, I think, speaking about
17	the niece getting an internship with Democracy
18	Partners. So, do you remember when she started to
19	work there?
20	A. It was sometime in the summer of '17. I
21	don't remember exact date. She wasn't there that
22	long because it was after the convention and then we
23	pulled the plug in October. I would have guessed
24	she started time in early August or September, but

76 1 I'm not exactly sure. That's what I would -- as I 2 recollect, it was sometime around that time frame. So would have stayed there for a month 3 Q. or so? 4 More or less. I don't remember the 5 Α. exact dates. 6 7 0. And her role as an intern at Democracy Partners, how many days a week was she there? 8 Well, we started off, we thought we 9 Α. wanted her to be there a lot. Then we had a funny 10 11 thing happen. She was very successful. 12 point she called me on the phone and said, Creamer wants to take me to the White House, and I said --13 Now, imagine we're Project Veritas. 14 15 We're doing an undercover investigation. The target 16 of our investigation who we are trying to link to 17 the White House invites our undercover journalist to 18 go to the White House. 19 I said, You can't go to the White House. 20 And she said, I know, there's no way; right? I 21 said, No, you are not who you say you are. don't have ID. You can't lie to the Secret Service. 22 23 You can't go anywhere near the White House. 24 It was one of the most bizarre problems

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Q. What kind of work did Democracy Partners have the undercover journalist doing for them? A. It was a lot of different things. of it was typical internship stuff where she wasn't doing that much, answering the phones and doing sort of menial tasks around the office. They took her around. They wanted to take her to the White House. They took her to the DNC headquarters. We met a woman named Janet Price from DNC who gave us some information. You might have a picture in there. What was really remarkable about that whole thing was the complete unfettered access they gave her to what they were doing; their personnel, their activities, their conversations with the DNC, their conversations through the DNC and to the Clinton campaign, their conversations with the White House.

Again, these people were quite boastful, and I think they were proud of their work. That's fine. But they certainty did not think that they were talking to an undercover journalist. So, they told her things that, you know, I'm sure they wouldn't have told people if -- they wouldn't have

told that to a reporter who asked them the question.

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- Q. Sure. Now, the undercover reporter, when she was doing this internship, did she have a secret camera rolling the whole time that she was there every day?
- A. Interestingly, the first day -- because I've actually looked at this particular tape relatively recently because of something else that we're doing. She was in the office for approximately eight hours, and for that eight hours she had her camera rolling the entire time, never turned it off even when she went to the bathroom.

Part of what, you know, we don't tell our journalists necessarily to do that because we believe people should have privacy in those situations, obviously. But she is, as I say, a very talented and hard working journalist, and she understood that every minute in that place had the potential to help us with the journalism in that story.

- Q. When you said a moment ago you believe people have privacy in those kinds of situations, you mean when they're using the bathroom?
 - A. When they're going to the bathroom. I

81 1 believe undercover reporting should be strictly forbidden in private situations, especially 2 I think that's throughout the world. 3 bathrooms. That should be an absolute line that should not be 4 5 crossed. 6 Fair enough. So, she had the camera 7 going the full eight hours the first day she was there. Did that change as the summer went on? 8 These cameras are tricky pieces of 9 A. technology that don't always work as well as we 10 11 would like them to. This undercover journalist, 12 undercover reporter, is a conscientious and capable I think for the most part when she was in 13 14 that building she was rolling an undercover camera 15 and audio. What kind of information did she have 16 Q. access to at the internship? 17 18 A. The biggest thing was conversations with 19 Robert Creamer about their activities. That without 20 doubt was for us the most interesting. I mean, there were other things. They spoke to a man by the 21 22 name of Aaron Black. That is not his real name, we 23 don't believe, which is strange that they would hire

a guy they knew was not his real name.

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83 1 it showed the connection between the original conversation that we had with Scott Foval in that 2 bar in Milwaukee all the way to Hillary Clinton 3 herself, which I thought was fascinating. 4 MR. HASKELL: Let's mark a couple 5 6 of exhibits here. 7 (Marked Exhibits 37 & 38, Screen Shots) 8 BY MR. HASKELL: 9 Exhibit 37 that we've just marked, do 10 Q. 11 you recognize that as a still from the Democracy 12 Partners video report that PVA published? 13 Absolutely. A. 14 And where was Exhibit 37 taken? Q. 15 That was in Bob Creamer's office, Robert Α. 16 Creamer's office, at the Democracy Partners office in Washington, D.C. 17 18 Q. In his personal office? 19 His designated office in the Democracy A. 20 Partners office space. 21 Q. Thank you. That's a better way to put 22 So, this was captured by the undercover 23 journalist in her role as intern for Democracy 24 Partners having a conversation with Bob Creamer in

84 his office? 1 2 Α. Correct. Exhibit 38, where was that taken? Q. 3 That was in one of the common areas of 4 A. 5 the Democracy Partners office in Washington, D.C. 6 Do you recognize Exhibit 37 as a still 7 from the published report that PVA put out on 8 Democracy Partners? Absolutely. 9 Α. So, similar situation with Exhibit 38, 10 Q. 11 the intern or, excuse me, the undercover journalist 12 posing as the intern had a conversation with Bob Creamer in this common area of the Democracy 13 14 Partners office and filmed it? 15 Α. Correct. 16 Q. How often did the journalist posing as the intern send back raw video for you to review? 17 18 A. Not every day, but certainly on a very 19 regular basis. The process of transmitting the 20 video remotely back to the headquarters is a complicated and tricky process, and it requires 21 22 having real good Internet service. 23 This was also hours and hours and hours of videotape, which those files are really large 24

95 1 to find out about it and to see it. 2 What happened in the case of Democracy Partners, almost immediately after the release of 3 our story, Scott Foval was fired and Bob Creamer 4 resigned from the campaign. A lot of what PVA and 5 6 PV does is because we have impact. 7 In this case, these two man left the One was fired and one resigned from being 8 campaign. involved in the campaign. That itself became the 9 10 story. The story wasn't that we had these tapes. 11 The story was these guys were fired and resigned 12 because we had the tapes and that became justification for a lot of mainstream media to 13 14 These were principals in the report the story. 15 They lost their jobs. Why did they lose campaign. 16 their jobs. Oh, because of the tapes that were released. 17 18 Ο. The undercover journalist who was posing 19 as an intern with Democracy Partners, what kind of 20 camera did she use while she was there day in and 21 day out? 22 Α. Various. We have all the kinds of tricks and tools. We've got necktie cameras, button 23

cameras, purse cameras. We've got eyeglass cameras.

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You wouldn't -- you would be amazed at the technology that we've acquired in order to do the important work that we do.

Q. Like James Bond stuff.

- A. You know, we take what we do very seriously. Some of the investigations we do are potentially quite risky, physically risky to our undercover journalists. We want as sophisticated equipment as we could possibly get that would be the least likely to be discovered and the least likely to put our journalists in any kind of risk.
- Q. How did the, quote, "niece" wrap up her time at Democracy Partners? She give two weeks' notice or something?
- A. We actually had one, two, three -- I think we had -- so, we actually -- I don't know if you remember in the story, but I'm sure you do -- you're a smart guy and you looked at all the tapes.

We not only had a donor but we had an undercover journalist, who was the donor's money man, who was actually going to hand -- be the person who wired the money to Americans United for Change. He was an undercover journalist who is actually an Englishman by birth.

99 1 put all the pieces together yet. It was kind of amazing actually. 2 So, what you took from that is the niece 3 cover had been blown --4 Α. Had been blown. 5 6 0. -- but not Charles Roth's? 7 Α. Which means had they hadn't put two and two together. If the, quote-unquote, "niece" wasn't 8 real, then that sort of puts in doubt the uncle, 9 doesn't it? Took them a while. 10 They know now. 11 Q. I think you mentioned before the break 12 earlier this morning that PVA made a donation. that part of this investigation? 13 14 A. Yeah, yeah. 15 Who was that donation made to? 0. It was made to Americans United for 16 A. 17 Change. Who made the donation? 18 Q. 19 The donation actually came from an Α. 20 offshore company. I believe it was a company in I think it was one of our Belize offshore 21 Belize. 22 companies. 23 Q. Do you know the name of that company? 24 A. I did. If you are asking me if I

100 1 remember it right now, I can't. I made up most of 2 the names myself. Mr. Verney and I came up with the 3 names. Repulse Bay was one of them. It may have been Repulse Bay. I don't remember. It could have 4 We had a bunch of them at the time. 5 That was 6 because we were -- we believed that if we actually made a donation that it would enhance our 7 credibility even greater. We went to our attorneys 8 and we said, how do we do this so we don't break any 9 laws. 10 11 Q. Best not to testify about --12 A. I'm sorry, I found out that -- I learned 13 how we could do that without violating any laws. Mr. Verney and I worked on that process. We came up 14 with a mechanism and a process that we knew was --15 16 that we knew was legal. So, we ended up wiring from this 17 18 offshore bank \$25,000 to a bank account that Creamer 19 gave us the information about, but it was actually 20 an Americans United for Change bank account, and I believe it was in New York, and we made the wire 21 transfer to that bank account. 22 23 Q. So, even though the donation was coming 24 from this company in Belize, the money was

101 1 controlled and directed by folks at PVA? 2 A. Correct. And had PVA created this company in 3 0. 4 Belize? 5 Α. Yes. 6 0. And registered it, whatever the process 7 is? A. There's a business in this, believe it 8 or not. I didn't know this beforehand. People set 9 up these companies, and you can buy them. 10 11 Q. I see. 12 Α. And they're not that expensive. Ιf you'd like to buy one, I can help you out there. 13 I 14 know people who do this. So, it's a legitimate Belizean entity, 15 Q. 16 but it's one for at least the purposes of this donation its operations were controlled by you and 17 18 Mr. Verney and other folks at PVA? 19 Α. Correct. 20 Okay. I think that covers us on 0. Democracy Partners. Let's move on to the next 21 22 investigation I want to ask you about, investigation 23 involving the Clinton campaign in Nevada. 24 Mm-hmm. A.

112 1 Q. Going into the jump drive and going to a 2 folder, 30(b)(6) video and sub-folder RDP15, I'm 3 going to open a file titled 15-P27, Rigging The Election. It's an MP4 file. Open the right 4 5 You can see now that video file playing on 6 the screen here? 7 A. Yes, I can. Ο. I've paused that video file about 8 eighteen seconds in. Do you recognize what we're 9 looking at here? 10 I do. 11 Α. 12 Q. What is it? It is the release that I produced and 13 Α. 14 Project Veritas Action produced in the Democracy 15 Partners investigation that we called Rigging The Election. 16 And that's the same video release that 17 Ο. we've seen stills of in Exhibits 32 to 38? 18 19 Α. Exactly. 20 Going back to the jump drive and in that 0. same subfile, 30(b)(6) videos, RDP15, I'm going to 21 22 open a file, an MP4 file entitled 15-P25 Clinton 23 Campaign. Do you see me doing that here? 24 Indeed, I do. A.

113 1 Q. Do you see this video playing up on the screen here? 2 I do. Α. 3 I've paused it about ten seconds in. 4 Q. Do you recognize this video? 5 6 Α. Yes, I do. 7 What is it? 0. This is a recording that we made inside, 8 A. I believe, the Hillary for President campaign office 9 in Las Vegas, Nevada, and that figure on the 10 11 right-hand side of the screen is John Podesta, who 12 was the chairman of the campaign for Hillary Clinton for President. Robby Mook was the campaign manager, 13 14 but I believe the title that Podesta held was 15 chairman of the campaign. He was giving a peptalk 16 to the workers at the campaign office in Nevada. Was a PVA undercover journalist present 17 0. 18 live for this is peptalk by Mr. Podesta? 19 That's how we were able to make this A. 20 recording because our journalist was in the room and was participating in this event. 21 22 And let me ask just before we Q. Okav. 23 move on, the MP4 file that I began to play here, do 24 you recognize that file that we're now playing?

114 1 A. Yes. What is it? 2 Q. It's one of our PVA releases that we 3 Α. released during that campaign cycle. 4 Is it fair to characterize this one as 5 relating to the Clinton campaign in Nevada? 6 7 That would be a correct Α. characterization. 8 Let's talk about how the PVA undercover 9 Ο. journalist got to be in the Clinton campaign office 10 11 in Nevada. How did that happen? 12 Α. I think we literally walked in the door 13 and said, Can we help. Campaigns do not tend, and I 14 understand why, to be high-security, high-vetting 15 organizations for people who want to contribute time 16 and effort to the campaigns. In this particular case, as I recall, we 17 18 volunteered to work for the campaign, and we did. 19 We did phone banking. We did GOTV stuff. 20 parties that we investigate, we actually help a great deal as well. I don't think they appreciate 21 22 that as much as they should, but it's true. 23 Q. Who was "we" who got involved? 24 A. I tend to think of every investigation

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being we. This is such a team process. We don't have -- I have lot of friends in the journalism business. I have a good friend who works for the New Yorker. He goes out and he doesn't go into the office and works on a story for two or three months and hands a Word document into the office, and they edit it and print it.

We're an organization where we're extremely collaborative. People are conversing and talking about what we do constantly. We have to figure out what the next move is. We're very reactive to information inputs and then we base our next move on the latest information that we have.

In this case the journalist that was in this particular investigation -- and there were a number of journalists who were involved in our Nevada investigation. This particular journalist who was at this particular event was somebody I think I talked to the day of certainly after this event because I remember the journalist calling me after and saying, You won't believe who was here today. I said, I don't know who, John Podesta? How did you know? Because I read it on the wires.

We're constantly -- James O'Keefe is

116 1 integrally involved in the decisions. Russ Verney in those years, he was still living in New York. 2 He was integrally involved. I say "we" because that's 3 how I see what we do. We don't do things alone. 4 do things as an organization and as a team. 5 6 Let me skip ahead to a different segment 7 of the 15-P25 video that we have on the screen here. I'm going to start playing at time stamp 4:15 and 8 play for just a -- excuse me. I'm going to start at 9 4:23. 10 (Video played) 11 12 BY MR. HASKELL: 13 So, that segment that we just listened to, I've paused it at time stamp 5:13. What are we 14 15 watching here? 16 A. We're watching the undercover journalist describe what she says occurred at, I believe it was 17 18 a polling place in Nevada. 19 Where is she when she's describing that? 0. 20 She's back at the Hillary for America Α. office in Las Vegas, Nevada, talking to that 21 22 campaign worker who worked for the Hillary for 23 President in Las Vegas, Nevada. 24 0. Do you know who was present in the

		122
1	A.	Yes.
2	Q.	Does that shed any light on what the
3	undercover	ournalist was doing?
4	Α.	I think we were working for the
5	campaign.	
6	Q.	To work on voter registration?
7	Α.	Correct.
8	Q.	Okay. The activity that we see in
9	Exhibit 41,	did that occur before or after the
10	meeting at t	the campaign office that's depicted in
11	Exhibit 40?	
12	Α.	I believe it was before.
13	Q.	Same day?
14	A.	I don't recall. No, I don't think so.
15	I don't thir	nk it was the same day.
16	Q.	Okay.
17	A.	I don't think so.
18	Q.	Going back up to the computer screen and
19	clicking on	the jump drive that we marked as
20	Exhibit 39,	I'm going to go into a different folder
21	titled Jump	Drive Raw Videos.
22	A.	Okay.
23	Q.	I've gone into a sub-folder titled
24	RDP16-2 and	another sub-folder titled "A," and I'm

	123
1	going to open the one MP4 file we see there whose
2	title end '1746.MP4.
3	(Video played)
4	BY MR. HASKELL:
5	Q. Do you see that film being played?
6	A. Yes.
7	Q. Do you recognize that video?
8	A. Yes.
9	Q. What is it?
10	A. Undercover recording inside Hillary
11	Clinton campaign office in Las Vegas, Nevada.
12	Q. Is this the raw video that underlies a
13	portion of the published video report that we viewed
14	a moment ago?
15	A. I believe so.
16	Q. Specifically, is what we're looking at
17	on the screen the video underlying the scene we see
18	in Exhibit 40?
19	A. I believe so.
20	Q. I'm going play this through time stamp
21	2:00.
22	(Video played)
23	BY MR. HASKELL:
24	Q. So, I've paused the raw video at time

124 1 stamp 2:00. Did you get a chance to see and hear 2 that as we were playing it? A. Yes, I saw and heard it, sorry. 3 Thank you. Fair to say that that 4 Q. 5 portion of the raw video depicted what appears to be 6 a staff meeting at the Clinton campaign 7 headquarters --Α. Correct. 8 -- where they're discussing things like 9 Ο. scheduling and how this is a major week and other 10 11 similar things? 12 A. Correct. The undercover journalist is the louder 13 Q. 14 female voice that we heard; right? 15 I believe so, yes. Α. 16 Q. She appeared to be actively participating in that conversation? 17 18 Α. Correct. 19 In fact, at one point she made a comment 0. 20 about what she could do so she could be as effective as possible before she leaves. Did you catch that? 21 22 Α. Yes, I did. 23 Q. I'll move over to a different 24 investigation now and ask to speak about

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132
1
                        (Video played)
2
    BY MR. HASKELL:
3
           Ο.
                 So, the Canadian woman suggests can the
    PV journalist make the purchase.
                                        The campaign staff
4
                                       Is that right?
5
    says she could make a donation.
6
           Α.
                 Correct.
7
           Q.
                 The Canadian woman says again, "Can you
8
    buy it for me, " and the PV journalist then says,
    "Sure, I'll buy it."
9
10
          Α.
                 Correct.
11
                        (Marked Exhibit 43, Screen Shot)
12
    BY MR. HASKELL:
                 So, Exhibit 43, do you recognize that as
13
           Q.
    a screen shot from this video report that
14
15
    corresponds to what we had up on the screen a moment
16
    ago?
                 Yes, I do.
17
          A.
18
           Q.
                 I'm going to continue playing.
19
                        (Video played)
20
    BY MR. HASKELL:
                 So, I've paused it at time stamp 3:50.
21
           Q.
22
    The segment that we just listened to, the narrater
23
    states that the Clinton campaign staff broke federal
    election law by what we had seen happen earlier?
24
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133 1 Α. Our conclusion was that in fact based on what we have on videotape, we believe that they 2 violated federal election law. 3 I'm going to keep playing couple more 4 Q. 5 seconds to time stamp 3:57. 6 (Video played) 7 (Marked Exhibit 44, Screen Shot) 8 BY MR. HASKELL: Do you recognize Exhibit 44? 9 Q. Indeed I do. 10 A. 11 Q. What is it? 12 Α. It is a screen grab from the video we've been watching that is about the Canadian woman via 13 our journalist purchasing campaign memorabilia which 14 15 is a campaign contribution to the Hillary campaign 16 which we believe is against federal election law. Exhibit 44 corresponds to what we're 17 Ο. 18 seeing on the screen in the conference room right 19 now? 20 Yes, it did. Α. In the screen grab the PV journalist 21 Q. 22 saying, "yeah, it worked out because you're Canadian 23 and I'm American, and I did it for you"? 24 A. Correct.

137 1 improprieties by the Clinton campaign, who would know about how that turned out? 2 A. I believe Mr. Verney would know. 3 Q. Anybody else? 4 It's Mr. Verney's responsibility to know 5 Α. 6 those things. It's not my responsibility per se to 7 I know them sometimes because I know those things. try to keep informed in all and everything that's 8 going on in the organization. But past things like 9 that, unless it's going to be another story for us 10 11 that we're going to report on and do a release on, I 12 don't worry about a great deal. I have a lot of other things that I worry about. 13 14 I'm going to go back into the Q. Okay. 15 jump drive, Exhibit 39, go into the folder titled 16 Raw Videos and go into the sub-folder titled RDP16-1. What we have here is three separate MP4 17 18 First one has titled ending '5504, second 19 one is title ending '5536, and the third one has a 20 title ending '5606. I'm going to play all three of them in that order. 21 22 (Videos played) 23 BY MR. HASKELL: 24 0. Do you recognize those three videos I

	138
1	just played?
2	A. I do indeed.
3	Q. What are they?
4	A. They are further conversation with our
5	PV journalist with the campaign workers at the
6	Hillary for President event at Roosevelt Island on
7	June 2015.
8	Q. You were able to hear and see those okay
9	when I played them?
10	A. I was.
11	Q. Are those raw video of at least a
12	portion of the conversation that appeared in
13	Exhibit 44?
14	A. That would be fair to say.
15	Q. Okay. And the three segments that I
16	just played also fair to say they're consecutive to
17	one another, one runs right into the next to the
18	next?
19	A. I believe so.
20	Q. Okay.
21	A. As I said earlier, now that you play it,
22	I think this is why we were concerned that we may
23	have violated the law.
24	Q. What did we see in

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A. We have the journalist who is giving a name and she mistakenly, erroneously, and wrongly gave an incorrect name to the campaign worker. She said she was a student, and she actually was a student as well as an employee of ours.

Irrespective of that, she gave an incorrect name.

Q. When you say incorrect name, what do you mean?

A. It was her cover name. It was not her actual legal name.

- Q. And the address that she gave to the campaign staff when they asked for it, it's an address in Tucson, Arizona. Did the undercover journalist live in Tucson at the time?
- A. I think her father did. She's from Arizona. Again, my point was that I remember when we saw this, I saw this and I remember thinking, you know, we have an issue here that we need to concern ourselves with because we may have broken the law, and we don't like to do that.

I think the journalist made an error in judgment there that was unfortunate, and that's why we wanted to report it to the FEC. It was one of the reasons we went to the FEC. We believed that

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the Clinton campaign violated the law, but we believe our journalist unfortunately did, in fact, give false information to a campaign worker, which we believe is perhaps a violation of federal campaign law.

Q. The three clips of raw video that we looked at, when did you first see those?

- A. I probably saw them that day or the next day. That was a New York event. I'm pretty sure. I know I was in the office that week. I remember getting a phone call from our undercover journalist about that event. So, I probably -- I probably saw it that night. When we have a story that we think is a story, we tend to jump on it pretty quickly.
- Q. But in any event, you would have seen those raw videos before the video report was assembled and published, yes?
- A. I have to. I have to look at the raw video. I can't look at the finished product before the raw product. I'm the cook. It would be like seeing the pancakes before you saw the eggs. Can't do that in my world. You gotta see the eggs, you gotta break them and mix them and add flour and make pancakes. That's what I do. I break eggs.

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141 Q. I think you testified a moment ago that the undercover journalist in this scene was employed as an undercover journalist by PVA. Did she keep her office in Mamaroneck with you? Our undercover journalists don't have offices per se. I think this particular undercover journalist at the time was living in the New York She would often come to the office. area. She may have even had a desk designated to her, but I don't recall that. Our journalists typically are sort of vagabonds. They're on the road a great deal. office is not real big. We don't have -- like this attorney general's office, we don't have a whole floor of a building. We have a humble office. We don't have offices for all of our journalists. I'm the executive producer, and I share an office. The fact of the matter is I don't believe she had an office, but, yes, she did work out of the office in Mamaroneck. You knew this woman, the undercover --Q. Α. I know all the undercover journalists. Q. You knew her name?

Absolutely.

	142
1	Q. Her name wasn't Laura Baker, which is
2	the name that she gave to the campaign staff in this
3	video we just watched?
4	A. Correct, which is why I said to you, I
5	was concerned when I heard that she had violated the
6	law and that's why we wanted to report it because we
7	were concerned that we had misspoken.
8	Q. In terms of both the cover name and not
9	stating in response to the campaign staffer's
10	question that she was employed by PVA?
11	A. Correct.
12	MR. HASKELL: Can we go off the
13	record for a moment.
14	(Discussion held off the record)
15	BY MR. HASKELL:
16	Q. Can I ask you to reach into the stack of
17	previously marked exhibits and pull out seven,
18	eight, and nine?
19	A. I totally messed this up. There's nine.
20	There's eight. There's seven. I don't even see
21	this one. Yes, I have seven, eight, and nine. I am
22	looking at them.
23	Q. Exhibit 7, do you recognize that?
24	A. I do, in fact.

151 1 bad things. So, undercover PV journalists went to 2 Q. the Bernie Sanders campaign, offered their services 3 as putative volunteers. That was their cover story; 4 5 right? 6 Α. Correct. 7 And what kind of work do those Ο. journalist wind up doing for the campaign? 8 It's whatever they need them to do. 9 Α. lot of times it's GOTV stuff, registration, it's 10 11 phone banking, and sometimes it's really menial 12 office work, envelope stuffing, door knocking, canvassing, very basically grass-roots fundamental 13 14 on the ground campaign work. That's what the PVA folks did there --15 Q. 16 Α. I believe so. -- for the Sanders campaign? 17 0. Correct. 18 A. 19 Got it. Can I ask you take a look at 0. 20 Exhibit 14? It should be in that stack. Is it a picture? 21 A. 22 Yeah, actually while you're there, why Q. 23 don't you pull out 14, 15, 16, 17, and 18. Exhibit 14, do you recognize what we're looking at 24

162 1 who spoke to whom to communicate that information? I think in that case it was one of the 2 Α. Australians who mentioned something to that effect 3 to one of our undercover journalists. 4 Was that captured by the secret 5 6 recording that the journalist was making at the 7 time? Probably, but it wasn't at the time or 8 A. it wasn't necessarily part of the release because we 9 weren't able to substantiate the information, and it 10 11 wasn't particularly relevant. When I finally --12 James O'Keefe and I put together the final production, we leave out a lot of stuff. 13 Sure, sure. 14 Q. 15 We do. I think in that particular case Α. 16 where one of the Australians said they had been wasn't particularly relevant to the story that we 17 18 produced. 19 I think that begins to answer my next Ο. 20 question which is what did that Australian individual say to the PVA undercover journalist? 21 As I recall -- because we wanted to know 22 Α. 23 that. As I recall, the undercover journalist asked a couple of Australians where else they had done and 24

169 1 are 11 states where it's a two-party consent law, and those 11 states make it very difficult for us to 2 Some states less difficult than others. 3 operate. The Commonwealth of Massachusetts is a 4 particularly difficult state. We just can't operate 5 6 here because your law is so remarkably difficult for 7 journalists to do undercover reporting, even though there have been a lot of undercover reporting done 8 in this state before your law was passed that was 9 actually pretty good reporting. 10 11 Q. Before we leave this topic, I want to be 12 clear on this. Even though PVA hadn't received information about the identities of these Australian 13 folks in Massachusetts or where they could be found 14 15 or how many there were or what they were doing, you 16 do have a memory that the Australian that the PVA journalist spoke with in New Hampshire did say that 17 18 there were Australian folks working in 19 Massachusetts? 20 I believe so, and had they been here and 21 had you had a one-party consent state, we would have found them. 22 23 Q. Okay. Looking at Exhibit 5, the

interrogatory responses in that same paragraph that

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170 1 speaks about the Australian Labor Party investigation, it also speaks about investigation 2 whose video report was titled American Pravda NYT, 3 Part One, is that the Dudich report that you began 4 to speak about before the lunch break? 5 6 Α. Correct. 7 0. How did that investigation come to be? We met Nicholas Dudich at a conference. 8 A. We sent some journalists out to a conference in 9 I believe it was Southern California. 10 California. 11 I believe it was Los Angeles or the Los Angeles 12 One of our undercover journalists met Nicholas Dudich who told us some outrageous things 13 14 including the fact that he claimed he was James 15 Comey's godson. He also claimed that he worked undercover for the FBI. 16 He claimed at one point -- he was pretty 17 18 wild out there. He was pretty out there, but he 19 also said that he was a gatekeeper at the New York 20 Times and that, in fact, he was -- he used his power to basically impact the New York Times coverage in a 21 22 way that he believed was the politically correct 23 message to send to the audience of the New York

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Times.

171 1 Q. What was the conference that your journalist attended? 2 Α. I do not remember the specific 3 conference, but I do remember, as I said to you 4 earlier, that when we registered for it we loved to 5 6 see this you give up the right of privacy when you 7 attend this conference because conversations will be recorded and videos will be taken. 8 How many journalists did PVA send to 9 Q. this conference? 10 I believe it was three. 11 Α. 12 Q. Were all three of them subsequently 13 involved in taking undercover reporting, undercover recording of Mr. Dudich? 14 15 Α. No, at that part of the Dudich 16 investigation in California only one journalist, as I recall, female undercover journalist was the one 17 who recorded the conversations with Mr. Dudich. 18 19 Okay. So, that female who PVA sent to 0. 20 this conference in California, did she register for the conference under her own name or under a cover 21 22 name? I don't recall. A lot of times we 23 Α. 24 actually have to register under our own names in

172 different conferences, and we do. We can get around 1 I don't recall the specifics of that one. 2 that. Sometimes we do. Sometimes we don't. 3 We have a number of journalists who have 4 names like Tom Smith. So, they actually sometimes 5 6 quite commonly use their actual name because they're 7 hiding in plain sight. In that particular case I don't recall. 8 Speaking about this one female 9 Q. journalist who later had these interactions with 10 11 Mr. Dudich, was it PVA's intention sending her to 12 this conference that she was going to participate in 13 the conference as an attendee, or was it PVA's intention that she was going to conduct an 14 15 investigation of somebody and generate some 16 material? We were fishing. It was a big pond, and 17 Α. we thought there was a lot of fish in it because it 18 19 was tech and media. Those are two areas that we're 20 kind of interested in. I think there's stuff there 21 that might be of interest. It's a big pond full of 22 fish, and Dudich happened to bite. 23 Q. How did this female undercover 24 journalist first meet Dudich, at the conference I

173 1 assume? Yeah, I don't recall. You know, I have 2 A. no idea, one of the least important facts that I 3 would ever want to know about something. All I 4 wanted to know is who did you meet, what did they 5 6 say, not how did you meet them. 7 Q. Did this undercover journalist give Mr. Dudich her name when they met? 8 I would assume so. 9 Α. Did she give her actual name? 10 Q. 11 Α. I don't believe so. Again, we commonly 12 don't give our true name. We're undercover journalists. Undercover journalism is about not 13 necessarily exposing the fact -- it's absolutely not 14 15 exposing the fact you're a journalist when you're 16 talking to subjects. Just like undercover state police in the 17 18 state of Massachusetts don't go into a drug ring and 19 say, hey, I'm Frank Johns. I'm a lieutenant in the They probably use a cover name and 20 state police. don't tell people they're state cops. And we do the 21 22 same thing. 23 The reason why the cops do it is because those people won't talk to them if they're the cops. 24

174 1 The reason we do it is because people won't talk to 2 us because we're journalists. That's why we do undercover reporting. 3 I doubt that she gave her real name. 4 I doubt it. I don't like our journalists to give 5 6 their real names. I think our journalists are under 7 at times, you know, very serious risk and pressures, and I think that we actually have people who harass 8 our journalists. So, I don't want to expose our 9 journalists to any more complications than they have 10 11 to. 12 So, I actually encourage our journalists to not give their real name. I don't like it when 13 our journalists give their real names because I 14 15 think it puts them at risk. This female journalist, fair to say she 16 Q. did not disclose her employment by PVA? 17 Of course not. She would not do that. 18 A. 19 Like I said, the state cop doesn't tell the drug 20 dealer she's a state cop. How long did this conference in 21 Q. 22 Los Angeles last? 23 Α. I think it was a Thursday-Friday-Saturday conference, but -- I'm not 100 percent sure 24

175 1 of that, but it was about that, typical. 2 At what point in the conference did the Q. female undercover journalist first meet Mr. Dudich? 3 Α. I think it was the second day. 4 And did the journalist secretly record 5 Q. 6 her interactions with Mr. Dudich on that second day of the conference, first day she met? 7 Yes, I believe that conversation took 8 A. place on a rooftop smoking area at the conference as 9 I recall. 10 11 Q. Can we look at from your stack Exhibits 12 19 all the way through 23? Can you specifically look at Exhibit 20? Do you recognize Exhibit 20? 13 14 Yes, I do. A. 15 Is that the rooftop? Is the background Q. 16 of Exhibit 20 the rooftop smoking area that you were describing? 17 18 Α. Yes, I believe it is. 19 Do you know from looking at Exhibit 20 0. 20 whether that was taken the first day that your journalist had met Mr. Dudich? 21 A. 22 I believe it was. Yeah, I believe it 23 I believe it was the first day that she was. 24 actually engaged him in any kind of real

176 1 conversation of any substance. Did you attend this conference yourself? 2 Q. I did not. A. 3 Did the journalist who was engaging 4 Q. 5 Mr. Dudich upload her raw video or send it to you back in Mamaroneck while the conference was going 6 7 on? A. Yes. 8 Did you and she then speak about what 9 0. she ought to do next --10 11 Α. Yes. 12 Q. -- with respect to Mr. Dudich? 13 A. Mm-hmm. 14 What was said in that conversation? Q. So, generally again we don't know -- I 15 Α. 16 didn't know that we were going to be talking to a guy at the New York Times. We were able to find 17 Dudich on social media and other Internet searches. 18 19 I think we found a bunch of his videos that he had 20 edited on the Times website. So, I was kind of 21 curious. 22 You know, a lot of what we do is just 23 kind of have a conversation with people and see 24 where it goes. You know, I don't necessarily say,

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1	get him to say this. In fact, I never say that. I
2	say, ask him about this, ask him about that, ask him
3	about how it works at New York Times, how much
4	control does he have, how much oversight is there of
5	his work, how many people agree with his point of
6	view, how many people what's the mood of the
7	place, what do people say about, you know, X, Y, Z.
8	Basically what I try to do with our
9	journalists and, again, part of our, you know, part
LO	of the reason why I work there, I believe why
11	Mr. O'Keefe employs me, because I can help the
12	journalist understand what's important. I've been a
13	journalist for a long time, and I have a pretty good
L4	news sense. I can say, I don't care what he says
15	about the Washington Post. He doesn't work for the
16	Washington Post. I do want to know about the inner
L7	workings of the New York Times and how their
18	editorial decision process works, whether they have
19	an extreme bias one way or the other and how it
20	goes.
21	MR. HASKELL: Let's mark two
22	exhibits.
23	(Marked Exhibits 45 & 46, Screen
24	Shots)

	178
1	BY MR. HASKELL:
2	Q. Exhibit 46, do you recognize that?
3	A. I do. It is a photograph of one of
4	our a still frame, freeze frame, a grab, frame
5	grab of one of our videos, the release that we did
6	on American Pravda.
7	Q. That's the Dudich investigation?
8	A. That is correct.
9	Q. And the
LO	A. The American Pravda was more than just
11	the Dudich investigation.
12	Q. I guess what I mean, it's the
13	investigation that we're talking about that involves
L4	Mr. Dudich?
15	A. Correct.
16	Q. Got it. Exhibit 46, was that taken as
L7	part of the same interaction between the undercover
18	journalist and Mr. Dudich as Exhibit 20?
19	A. As Exhibit 20, yeah, because he's got
20	the same shirt on and it looks like the same roof
21	and yes.
22	Q. You can see that it looks maybe like a
23	heat lamp in the back?
24	A. Yes, I'll bet it's a satellite dish.

179 1 Q. That works too. Exhibit 45, was that taken in the same place as Exhibits 20 and 46? 2 Α. Oh, it is a heat lamp, yeah, but on a 3 different day because he's wearing a different 4 As I recall, Dudich was smoker. 5 6 kind of what they did or -- and I don't think our 7 undercover journalist, that particular journalist was a smoker. Sometimes our journalists will smoke 8 when they need to if they have to in order to have a 9 conversation with people that smoke, but as I 10 11 recall, Dudich was if not a smoker he was one of 12 those wacko vapors. I think it was the next day. 13 The black shirt, so the next day, because that's when he told us the story about the -- that his 14 15 godfather was James Comey. 16 Q. That was the second day --I believe so. 17 Α. 18 -- that your journalist had interacted Q. 19 with Mr. Dudich? 20 Α. Correct. 21 Q. Third --22 And I think it was the third day of the Α. 23 conference. I'm not 100 percent sure of that. 24 Those facts are not real important to me.

	180		
1	Q. And Exhibit 19, which we had pulled out		
2	of the stack a moment ago		
3	A. Yes.		
4	Q that's also a screen grab from the		
5	same video report?		
6	A. Yes.		
7	Q. And it appears that Exhibit 19 was taken		
8	the same day as Exhibit 45; right?		
9	A. Yep, black shirt but inside.		
10	Q. The background of Exhibit 19, was that		
11	the conference your journalist was attending?		
12	A. I believe so. I think it was in one of		
13	the public hallways that you ingress and egress from		
14	the conference.		
15	Q. Looks like there's some sort of poster		
16	board in the background.		
17	A. Yep, movie nights.		
18	Q. So, after the conference was finished,		
19	did your journalist then return to Mamaroneck or		
20	that area?		
21	A. No, that journalist doesn't live in		
22	Mamaroneck, that journalist, but Mr. Dudich returned		
23	to New York because Mr. Dudich lived in New Jersey		
24	and worked for the New York Times at the New York		

181 1 Times headquarters in New York City in Times Square. We wanted to finish the conversation 2 3 with Mr. Dudich because we thought we were on to something. We wanted to get more. We wanted more 4 information. We wanted more conversations with him. 5 6 We wanted to continue the dialogue. 7 Q. PVA's undercover journalist, the same female, had at least two more meetings with 8 Mr. Dudich; right? 9 That is correct. 10 Α. 11 Q. Can I ask you to look at Exhibits 21 and 12 22? Yep, looking at them now. 13 A. 14 Exhibit 21, where was that taken? Q. 15 Number 21 was taken at Yankee Stadium Α. 16 like in one of those hospitality kind of suite things that they have in the stadiums for people who 17 18 have more money than I do and fewer ex-wives and 19 that was a meeting that Mr. Dudich -- we actually 20 took Mr. Dudich to the game, as I recall, as part of 21 our investigation. 22 Q. Does PVA have tickets or access to one 23 of those hospitality suites at Yankee Stadium, or 24 did PVA get that for Mr. Dudich?

182 1 Α. We got that specifically for Mr. Dudich. We do not have box seats at Yankee Stadium, and I 2 would be opposed to that because I'm a Mets fan. 3 Exhibit 22, where was that taken? 4 Q. That was that a restaurant that's 5 Α. 6 downstairs in the New York Times building. 7 actually like your cafeteria. It's not part of the New York Times. I think it's an independent 8 contractor. What do you call it? You know, what's 9 that word I'm looking for when you have, you know --10 11 it's a quy who's got a business in the New York 12 Times building and it's a diner/restaurant. The meeting that we see in Exhibit 22, 13 when did that happen in relation to the Yankee 14 15 Stadium outing in Exhibit 21? As I recall, Exhibit 22 is our sort of 16 Α. final meeting with Mr. Dudich at the diner. 17 18 Penultimate meeting with Mr. Dudich was at Yankee 19 Stadium. 20 Were there any more meetings between the 0. 21 PVA journalist and Mr. Dudich other than the 22 conference in Los Angeles, the Yankee Stadium, and 23 the diner? 24 Α. I had a cameraman stake out his

183 1 apartment in New Jersey so I could get video of him. I wanted more video of him to help tell the story. 2 We also had considered having Mr. O'Keefe meet 3 Mr. Dudich to ask him some questions. We decided to 4 5 not do that. We decided it was more appropriate for 6 us to have a conversation with Mr. Dudich's bosses 7 including Mr. Dean Baquet who is the executive editor of the New York Times. 8 Those other occasions that you just 9 Q. mentioned where you had a camera outside of 10 11 Mr. Dudich's home and you considered an encounter 12 between Mr. O'Keefe and Mr. Dudich, did either of those occasions involve the female PVA journalist 13 14 meeting with Mr. Dudich? 15 No, they did not. Α. 16 Q. So, those two people met at the 17 conference in LA, at Yankee Stadium, and at this diner? 18 19 Yes. Α. 20 And the PVA journalist was recording 0. each of those encounters? 21 22 Α. Yes. 23 Okay. The conference, you said, was a Q. 24 Thursday, Friday, Saturday?

184 1 Α. I believe so, but I'm not 100 percent certain of that. I could be wrong about that. 2 How long after the end of the conference 3 Q. did the Yankee Stadium date occur? 4 I think it was a couple weeks. 5 Α. 6 to say about three, two to three weeks more or less. 7 There were some conversations -- we had to figure out how the journalist could be in New York 8 plausibly so that she could then have another 9 10 meeting with Dudich. We had to figure that out. We 11 had some other issues we needed to sort out. 12 I want to say that it was a few weeks, 13 but it might have been a little longer than that. I remember there was one period where we had -- our 14 15 undercover journalist had trouble contacting Dudich. 16 He kind of went off the radar, which happens to us a When it happens we have to deal with it and 17 18 wait until they come back on grid. 19 And how long after Yankee Stadium did 0. 20 the diner date in Exhibit 22 occur? I think it was about a week or so. 21 Α. Ιt 22 might have been a little longer than that. Time is 23 really one of my great weaknesses in life. I tend 24 to compress it and expand it for no logical reason.

185 1 I'm not a big calendar guy. I tend to see my life and these investigations as kind of almost like 2 they're one event. I have tendency to compress 3 things. So, when you ask me those questions, I 4 5 would beg your forgiveness if I'm not as accurate as 6 I would like to be. 7 Ο. But in any event, several weeks between the one date and the other? 8 That's what I believe. 9 Α. 10 Q. Okay. Do you remember who the Yankees 11 were playing that day? 12 Α. No, but what I remember, which was so 13 crazy, they were in there having this meeting when like, in, like, the ninth inning and it was, like, 14 2-2 and the bases were loaded. I remember in one of 15 16 our video shots, you could see the monitor. were loaded, two outs in the ninth, and they're 17 18 sitting there talking. I thought, Jesus, these 19 people are such nerds. Dudich was the biggest one 20 of them all. I remember seeing that. It was a 21 great game. I don't remember who they were playing. It sounds like Dudich wasn't there for 22 Q. 23 the baseball game. 24 A. No, no, Mr. Dudich was intrigued by our

186 1 undercover journalist. 2 Q. In what way? A. I think he was attracted to her. 3 So, well, during the conference in 4 Q. 5 Los Angeles, did the undercover journalist tell 6 Mr. Dudich anything about who she worked for, where 7 she lived, her background? A. Well, I don't think she told him 8 anything that was necessarily true, although I 9 instruct our journalists who are building a cover 10 11 story and an alias to create an alias that is as 12 similar to your own story as reasonable. This is 13 because when you create a story that is completely 14 beyond your understanding or experience, you often 15 get caught out. For example, if you were one of my 16 undercover journalists, I would say you should not 17 18 say that you were a professional football player and 19 went to Georgia State. You never know. You might 20 meet a guy who actually played at Georgia State and say, "I don't remember you." 21 22 I try to tell our journalists to have as 23 similar to their own story as possible but still not

revealing their true identity.

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187 1 Q. Okay. And so you said that this particular female journalist didn't live in the New 2 3 York area; right? A. Correct. 4 What part of the country did she live 5 Q. 6 in? 7 Α. In the Northeast generally. But not in New York City? 8 0. Correct. 9 Α. Or around New York City? 10 Q. 11 Α. Correct. And so at the end of conference, had she 12 Q. given Mr. Dudich reason to believe that she was 13 going to her true home area, wherever that was? 14 15 Α. Yeah, as I recall when I first -- the 16 Dudich story, I was a little skeptical of the Comey James Comey was in the news. 17 James Comey 18 got fired by the president of the United States. 19 James Comey is a integral part of this Russia 20 I was like, okay, if he's freaking investigation. Comey's godson, that's interesting. 21 Maybe there's 22 something we can learn about this. Who knows. Ι 23 didn't know where it was going to go. 24 intriqued.

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I wasn't sure I believed him. 1 He was kind of a little bit of a bullshitter. You never 2 That's why it's important for us to be able 3 know. to follow up on these things because I don't want to 4 report something that's not true. I really don't. 5 6 It's in my bones. You know, I really believe that 7 it's really important for us to report the truth. So, I wanted to verify that he was Comey's godson. 8 I also wanted to talk to him a bunch more times, if 9 10 he was Comey's godson, what Comey was up to, what he 11 knew. 12 I think the story we came up with was that the undercover journalist said that she had --13 her father was wealthy and that she traveled around. 14 15 I think she even said that her father lived in New 16 I think her original story just because it 17 was what we came up with was she actually was living 18 in California and was attending the conference 19 because it was, like, you know, in the neighborhood 20 kind of thing. We don't -- we couldn't create the kind of job to make sense for her to be there if she 21 22 traveled from New York, for example. 23 I think what we came up with was she 24 said her father was wealthy, to Dudich, and that he

189 1 lived in New York and that she visits him often, and when she visits him next she would love to see him 2 when she came to New York. 3 Had the PVA journalist said that to 4 0. Mr. Dudich before she left at the end of this 5 6 conference in Los Angeles? 7 Α. Yes, I believe so. By the way, it was the undercover journalist's father that bought the 8 Yankee tickets. Not really. 9 10 Q. That was the story, yes? 11 Α. Yes, that was the story. 12 Q. Got it. That's how it works. 13 A. You said you had the sense that 14 Q. 15 Mr. Dudich was attracted to your reporter. 16 gave you that sense? Well, she's a young, attractive female. 17 Α. 18 He is young, reasonably attractive male. Usually, 19 at least in my experience, young males are attracted 20 to young females. 21 Q. Perhaps when they meet at far flung conferences? 22 23 A. When they meet anywhere they tend to be attracted to them and each other. And, in fact, 24

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1 that is not -- for us that's not something that we necessarily avoid. Our objective, our journalists! 2 objective is to have conversations and encounters 3 and relationships with the people that we're 4 investigating. So, if that person thinks that this 5 6 person is attractive and wants to spend time with 7 that person because they're attracted, great, that's all good for us. 8 So, they leave the conference in 9 Q. 10 Los Angeles, go to their respective homes, more or 11 Who reaches out to whom next? 12 Α. As I recall, our journalist reached out 13 to Dudich, I think through an e-mail or text. think they were texting a lot. These young folks, 14 15 they text all the time. I think that conversation 16 and that sort of back and forth was primarily over 17 text. 18 Fair to say at that point Mr. Dudich was 0. 19 eager to see the journalist again?

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You know, he was funny. I think he was Α. intrigued by her and he was attracted to her, but he was a -- he's a weird duck. He kind of went off the grid for a while. He wasn't like, you know, charging up the gangplank to get on the boat, no pun

197 1 Q. Did Journalist B succeed in developing an independent relationship with Mr. Dudich? 2 Α. It was not as successful as I 3 Limited. had hoped. 4 You said a couple weeks went by between 5 Q. 6 the Yankee Stadium date Exhibit 21 and the diner 7 date in Exhibit 22; right? A. That is correct. 8 And were Journalist A, the young woman, 9 0. and Mr. Dudich in touch between those two times? 10 11 Α. I believe they were texting and 12 communicating at some level. Pretty frequently? 13 Q. 14 Α. There was communication. There was communication. 15 16 Q. Okay. And how did the date in Exhibit 22 at the diner come to happen? 17 18 So, I really wanted to lock down the 19 Comey thing. I had real serious reservations about 20 As I said, I had doubt about Dudich's credibility, but I thought if he could give us more 21 22 information, it might help us lock it down one way 23 or the other. We wanted to -- basically, the purpose of that meeting was to get Dudich to talk 24

198 1 about Comey more, which he did, but all of it was 2 BS. (Marked Exhibit 47, Screen Shot) 3 BY MR. HASKELL: 4 5 Do you recognize Exhibit 47? Q. 6 Yeah, it's a photograph of the video 7 release that is the same meeting that is in 8 Exhibit 22. It's the same diner in the New York 9 Times building in New York City. Is it taken from a different camera? 10 Q. 11 Α. Yes. 12 Q. The camera in Exhibit 47, where was that camera located? 13 14 Α. I believe that was in a bag. I think 15 that's a bag cam. Exhibit 47? 16 Q. 17 A. I believe so, yes. 18 Q. Okay. What about Exhibit 22? 19 Twenty-two was a bag cam by one of our A. 20 production people. And was that production -- it looks like 21 Q. 22 the camera angle in Exhibit 22 is from a table 23 adjacent to where Mr. Dudich and Journalist A are 24 sitting; correct?

		199		
1	A.	Correct.		
2	Q.	Was the production person sitting at		
3	that adjacent table?			
4	Α.	Yes.		
5	Q.	Unbeknownst to Mr. Dudich?		
6	А.	I'm sure he saw him, but he didn't know		
7	that he worl	ked for Project Veritas, but he didn't		
8	know that Jo	ournalist A worked for Project Veritas		
9	either.			
10	Q.	True identity unknown to Mr. Dudich?		
11	Α.	Correct.		
12	Q.	Can I ask you to pick up Exhibit 23,		
13	please?			
14	А.	Yes.		
15	Q.	So, this is also a screen shot from that		
16	same published video report?			
17	Α.	Correct.		
18	Q.	This screen shot, I'm correct that the		
19	screen shot	is correlated with an audio recording		
20	Α.	I'm sorry.		
21	Q.	Go ahead.		
22	Α.	This actually is a phone conversation		
23	that Journalist A had with Mr. Dudich after the			
24	meeting that's in Exhibits 47 and 22.			

201 In fact --1 Α. 2 -- she wasn't there? Q. -- she didn't know who Nicholas Dudich 3 A. was and was not, in fact, his mother. 4 5 Q. Okay. 6 Α. Then with further OSINT we proceeded 7 to -- OSINT is open-source intelligence meaning basically the Internet. We discovered that what we 8 were able to pretty, I think, seriously confirm that 9 Mr. Dudich's mother lived in the Commonwealth of 10 Massachusetts. 11 12 Q. Where did you learn that she lived? As I recall, it was just OSINT stuff. 13 A. We knew that they had lived in Ohio and that the 14 15 father and mother divorced at a certain point. think we knew where the mother went to school 16 because I think Dudich told Journalist A some of 17 18 that background information. We were able to pretty 19 much lock down almost 100 percent -- I was very 20 confident that the woman we believed was Nicholas Dudich's mother lived in Boston, Massachusetts, or 21 22 I don't think she lived right in in the area. 23 Boston. I think it was like Needham or something I don't remember the exact town. 24 like that. I

202 1 would have -- I wouldn't have bet the farm on it, but I would have bet a few cows. 2 Did you identify a particular 3 Q. residential address for Dudich's mom? 4 We had a workplace, and we had a Α. 5 6 residence. 7 Ο. Okay. What was the workplace, do you recall? 8 No, I don't. 9 Α. Do you know where it was? 10 Q. 11 Α. I want to say it was in Boston. I think 12 she worked in Boston and lived in one of the suburbs. 13 14 So, looking at Exhibit 5 again, the 0. 15 interrogatory responses we had a while ago, and 16 turning to page seven, in that paragraph that got us talking about Mr. Dudich, there's a note there that 17 18 Project Veritas desired to use secret recording in 19 Massachusetts in the process of investing claims by 20 New York Times reporter relating to former FBI Director James Comey in the fall of '17 but avoided 21 22 doing so because of the law. 23 First of all, was the investigation involving Mr. Dudich classified as a Project Veritas 24

203 1 investigation or PVA investigation? 2 Α. I believe American Pravda was a Project Veritas investigation. 3 But the personnel and the methods and 4 the techniques are the same between the two? 5 6 Correct. It's two organizations because 7 we have separate functions, but much of the personnel, practices, and activities are similar. 8 They're basically two -- we basically wear two hats. 9 We wear one hat when we are doing certain kinds of 10 11 investigations, and we take that hat off and put on 12 another hat when we're doing another kind of 13 investigation. 14 Q. In the interrogatory response we see on 15 page seven of Exhibit 5 here speaking about a desire 16 to use secret recording in Massachusetts, did that relate to Dudich's mother? 17 18 Α. Yes. 19 Were there any other opportunities to 0. 20 use secret recording in Massachusetts in the Dudich investigation other than with respect to his mother? 21 22 Α. No, not with the Dudich investigation. 23 I think the obstacle, we wanted to confirm that Comey was Dudich's -- or find out that it wasn't 24

204 1 true. We wanted confirmation one way or the other of Dudich's relationship with James Comey. 2 believed by talking to a close family member of 3 Mr. Dudich we would be able to determine whether or 4 not that was, in fact, true. 5 6 Could I ask you to pull Exhibit 30 out 7 of the stack, please? Exhibit 30 is an e-mail You see your name and e-mail address appear 8 in Exhibit 30? 9 Mm-hmm. 10 Α. 11 Q. Do you remember this e-mail tread? 12 A. Vaquely. Does this relate to an effort to 13 Q. secretly record Mr. Dudich's mother in 14 15 Massachusetts? 16 Α. Yes. Okay. At the time that this e-mail 17 0. thread was sent, had PVA identified a location at 18 19 which it would have or desired to secretly record 20 Mrs. Dudich? I believe we had the home address, and I 21 Α. think we had a work address or some kind of work --22 23 some -- as I recall, as I said before, I believe we had a home address, and I believe we had some kind 24

205 1 of business address. What does Mrs. Dudich's home look like? 2 Q. A. I have no idea. I've never been there 3 myself. 4 What was the plan for a PVA journalist 5 Q. 6 to engage with Mrs. Dudich at her home? 7 Α. I don't remember the exact ploy that we were going to use. Somehow we were going to say 8 that we knew Nick and that we were -- I don't 9 I don't remember what we were going to 10 remember. 11 What ended up happening -- we're in the video 12 business. When we come up against the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, it's a real problem. 13 14 I think, as this says, we did send some 15 UCJs up here without camera equipment, and I think 16 they were doing a survey trying to see what they I think what I was kind of -- I don't 17 could see. 18 remember my thought process per se. I think these 19 the undercover journalists were not going to have a 20 They were just coming up to look conversation. 21 around. 22 What I was hoping was that maybe like a 23 lot of people in Massachusetts they go back and 24 forth to New Hampshire, Maine. It was to come up,

206 1 take a look around and see what you could see. We 2 had some people in New York, send them up. Because we couldn't do Massachusetts, we 3 ended up finding Dudich's grandmother and aunt in 4 5 North Carolina and Dudich's father in Washington, 6 D.C., and we were able in those jurisdictions to do 7 undercover reporting in line with the First Amendment of the United States Constitution, and we 8 were able to confirm that Dudich wasn't James 9 Comey's godson, which was --10 11 The undercover journalists who traveled Q. 12 to Massachusetts to look around, they never had a 13 specific plan to approach Mrs. Dudich in 14 Massachusetts? 15 No, because we don't do -- we're video. A. 16 What we do is we shoot undercover video. We record undercover video and audio. Our profession is 17 18 undercover video journalism. I don't really have a 19 real big interest in one of my journalists talking 20 to somebody and finding out information unless they can wear a hidden camera because that's not the 21 business that we're in. 22 23 Q. Where did Mrs. Dudich work? 24 I'm trying to recall. I thought -- she A.

207 1 was either a lawyer or some kind of health care It may have been a combination thereof 2 worker. where she was like a lawyer who did health care, 3 something like that. I thought she had an office 4 again in Boston or in the Boston area and a home in 5 6 a suburb of Boston. 7 Ο. But you don't remember where the office in Boston was? 8 I wasn't that interested because 9 Α. the problem is we can't do our job in the state of 10 11 Massachusetts. So, it wasn't real important to me. 12 I spend a great deal of time and effort and 13 attention to investigations that are legal and where we can operate and do our journalism. I don't spend 14 15 a whole lot of time worrying about places that 16 forbid freedom of the press. So, I take it you wouldn't be able to 17 0. 18 say whether the location where your journalists 19 desired to encounter Mrs. Dudich would come with an 20 reasonable expectation of privacy? I mean, it sounds like you just don't know? 21 22 I don't really know, but I know she was Α.

in the state of Massachusetts, and the state of

Massachusetts expressly forbids undercover

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208 1 recording. So, therefore it didn't matter where she was in the state of Massachusetts. No matter where 2 she was, middle of the Red Sox stadium on a 3 megaphone, I couldn't undercover record her 4 5 according to your law as I understand it. 6 MR. HASKELL: Let's call a break. 7 (Whereupon, a recess was taken) BY MR. HASKELL: 8 Turning back to Exhibit 5, response to 9 Q. interrogatory number nine. 10 11 Α. Yes. 12 Q. We've been focusing so far on the last paragraph of that response saying that PVA had 13 14 desired to conduct secret recording in Massachusetts 15 related to the Australian Labor Party and Dudich 16 investigations. I'd like to talk now about the four examples listed in the first paragraph. 17 Could I ask 18 you to take a moment and reread the first paragraph, 19 please. 20 (Deponent viewing exhibit). Α. Yes, I'm familiar with all of those. 21 22 Again, those are instances that PVA has Q. 23 identified that it desired to secretly record a person in Massachusetts but refrained from doing so. 24

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1 Q. The second category that I'm going to ask you about are PVA's plans and intentions to 2 conduct secret recordings in Massachusetts in the 3 Can we keep those two as separate 4 5 categories? 6 Α. I'll do the best I absolutely can. 7 Q. And the two may overlap at some point. We can work with each other on that. 8 Historical in the past occurrences where 9 PVA wanted to do some secret recording in 10 11 Massachusetts but chose not to, we have the four 12 examples listed in the first paragraph in response 13 to interrogatory nine. We have the Australian Labor 14 Party and Dudich investigations that we already 15 spoke about. Then you also mentioned an 16 investigation related to Harvard. I think we spoke about that with Mr. Verney earlier this week. 17 18 going to include that on the list as well. 19 Are you aware of any other occurrences 20 when PVA wanted to secretly record in Massachusetts 21 in the past and chose not to? 22 Not specifically, but I'm always looking Α. 23 for stories. I read at least two to three 24 newspapers almost every single day. Except the Wall

213 1 going to do it. In the state of Massachusetts, if we're not going to do it, I don't write up a plan. 2 I don't plan parties that I'm not going to have. 3 Okay. So, let's go through the list in 4 interrogatory number nine here. This first 5 6 occurrence or potential investigation relating to 7 landlords renting unsafe apartments to college students, what was your involvement in that idea? 8 I saw that story. I think it was a 9 Α. Boston Globe story. I saw that story, and I was 10 11 really intriqued by it because I think it was two 12 years ago or so. I knew my son was going to be moving here. I knew he could fall victim to this 13 same thing. I had a personal stake in it. 14 15 Plus, I think the landlord exploitation 16 of students and older people is really egregious. think landlord abuse is just really horrific. 17 18 don't know why. Maybe because I was a tenant for so 19 many years and I had a really lousy landlord when I 20 lived on the Lower East Side. I remember reading this story, and I 21 22 remember reading these instances where kids were 23 being ripped off in rat infested houses and no heat, and I thought, That's just abominable. We could do 24

214 1 that story. That's the kind of story we can do 2 really well. That's the kind of story that undercover video is very powerful. 3 The Boston Globe can write about it, but 4 when you see the landlord and you see the apartments 5 6 and when you see the people who are being exploited, 7 it's so much more powerful. I've been a video journalist, I've been 8 in television my whole career. I think television 9 10 is the be all and end all. I respect the print 11 I think undercover video sometimes is a 12 unbelievably powerful voice in correcting wrongs. Undercover video specifically is just unbelievable 13 14 because we get people to admit what they would never 15 say publicly. 16 I had an idea that we could actually be like a landlord kind of guy and talk to the other 17 18 landlords and get them to tell us how they treated 19 these people, how they did it, why they did it, and 20 the fact that they reveled in it because that's what I certainly believed was the case. 21 22 Did you set pen to paper and create an Q. 23 op plan? 24 A. No, no, I muse at what I might be able

215 1 to do if I had the opportunity and the freedom to do 2 so. I just --Go ahead. Ο. 3 Α. I think stories like that, that kind of 4 story in particular, is so much in our wheelhouse. 5 6 It's so important and is what undercover journalism 7 is about. It's about Nellie Bly going into the 8 insane asylum and exploring how cruel and horrific 9 those conditions were. It's Lincoln Steffens. 10 It's 11 people who put themselves in circumstances and 12 situations that they cannot get into publicly but they have to get into covertly and expose the truth 13 14 that they are able to uncover. 15 Undercover journalism is an incredibly 16 important and powerful tool for democracy and When you limit that freedom, you damage 17 freedom. democracies. 18 19 This idea to investigate landlords with 0. 20 respect to out-of-code apartments, unsafe apartments, did you discuss that idea within PVA? 21 I believe I talked to Russ about it. 22 Α. Т 23 might have mentioned it to James too. I don't recall specifically talking to James about it. 24 In

216 1 those days -- it's only been in the last year that we've really grown into a much larger organization. 2 In the first two, two and a half years, 3 almost the first three years that I worked at the 4 organization, it was a pretty small group of people, 5 6 pretty tight, myself, Russell, James, couple of 7 other people who came in and out during that time period. So, we talked about everything. 8 Russ is from Boston and Massachusetts. 9 He grew up here. So, he's really into what goes on 10 11 He knows about where Deval Patrick's bodies 12 are buried. He knows everything, and he is really 13 I don't really know Boston particularly into it. Russ was from here, and Russ and I are good 14 well. 15 colleagues and friends. 16 When a Boston or Massachusetts story comes up, we would often talk about it. He's a Red 17 We talked about it a lot. 18 Boston and 19 Massachusetts and New England generally is Russ's 20 He grew up right outside of here. backvard. Yeah, I remember talking specifically 21 22 about that story, and I know a bunch of people who 23 went to college here. I mean, I thought it was a 24 good story. I still think it's a good story. I

217 1 think it's probably still going on. Is this an idea that PVA still intends 2 Q. 3 to pursue? Α. I would love to. I would do it 4 5 tomorrow. 6 Remembering that you're designated to 7 testify on behalf of PVA with respect to its plans and intentions vis-a-vis Massachusetts, my question 8 is does PVA have a present intention to do an 9 investigation of this type in Massachusetts? 10 11 Α. No, because it's against the law. 12 Q. Is it fair to say that your consideration of this idea never resulted in any 13 14 individual targets being identified for recording? 15 Α. No. I mean, I think I saved the 16 newspaper story. I think I probably did. I tend to Recently I've been trying to empty 17 save everything. 18 my office because I've got stacks everywhere. 19 remember that story specifically. I think it's a 20 important story. It's a great story. If the law in Massachusetts gets overturned, as I hope it will, 21 22 then I believe we probably will do that 23 investigation. I would like to. I'm not the final decider. Mr. O'Keefe 24

218 1 is really the final decider. I'm a party to the conversation about what investigations we do and 2 I like to think that I have a pretty 3 don't do. prominent role. It's not my decision alone. 4 And the way that this idea has 5 Okay. 6 been developed by PVA so far, have you identified 7 locations at which you would do secret recordings relating to landlords renting unsafe apartments? 8 I mean, I know how I would do it 9 Α. No. just because I know how to do this kind of stuff. 10 11 I've been doing it for long time. I don't know that 12 I talked to anybody about it because I don't plan 13 parties that I'm not going to have. 14 You haven't identified a particular Q. 15 property that you would look into? 16 Α. I have not. You haven't identified particular 0. 18 landlord who you would seek to record? 19 I have not and when we initially -- like 20 I said, when I initially saw this story, it was a couple of years ago. As I said, I would bet that 21 22 it's still going on to some degree because I don't 23 know that the problem has been solved. I haven't

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heard that.

I might -- if the law were changed or

overturned tomorrow, I might come up here and start to do the investigation and find, in fact, it's no longer a problem. If that's the case, then great, terrific, that would be a wonderful thing.

- Q. It's not your present intention to do that?
- A. It's not my present intention to do anything in the state of Massachusetts because it's against the law for me to do the kind of journalism that I do.
- Q. With respect to the second investigation that's mentioned in response to the interrogatory nine, government officials including police officers, legislatures, or members of Massachusetts Office for Refugees and Immigrants and their position on sanctuary cities, is that an idea for potential investigation that you were involved with?
- A. Yes, the sanctuary cities story is an interesting story. I think it's an important story. Politically I'm not sure I necessarily agree with all -- some of the story, but that's irrespective. I think that when people are violating the law and doing -- and doing so by being paid by the government, whether it be state, local, or federal

220 1 government, that that's a problem. That needs to be 2 exposed. The problem that we have with the 3 sanctuary cities story is that many of the biggest 4 5 sanctuary cities in this country are in states that 6 have two-party consent laws like, for example, 7 Chicago, Illinois, and Seattle, Washington, and Portland, Oregon, and Boston, Massachusetts, and I 8 9 could go on. So, it's a problem. 10 It's a challenge. 11 It's a real challenge. I would like to do some 12 stuff on it. I think there's a story there. not exactly sure what the story is. 13 I think there's 14 some hypocrisy going on. I think there's some 15 shenanigans with playing politics with this issue. I think that if I were to do an 16 investigation in, say, the state of Massachusetts 17 18 that we might theoretically potentially expose some 19 hypocrisy about the sanctuary cities issue. 20 When PVA wanted to do some investigation Ο. but refrained because of Massachusetts's law, had 21 22 PVA identified specific people to secretly record? 23 A. No, because again I only go -- so, again 24 the way it kind of works is I'll see something,

221 1 somebody will tell me something, we get a tip or James has an idea or Russ has an idea or somebody 2 has an idea, then we'll talk about it usually in the 3 office, and then if it's in a one-party consent 4 state, then we will sort of proceed from there. 5 6 If it's in a two-party consent state, we 7 do investigations in two-party consent states, but we are so handcuffed. It's virtually impossible, 8 it's incredible expensive, and it usually doesn't 9 10 even work. We do it because in certain cases we 11 12 believe the story is so important that we need to figure out a way to achieve the journalism, but it's 13 not easy and Massachusetts is a really tough state. 14 15 Your law is really difficult for us. 16 California is a two-party consent state. We operate in California because there's an 17 18 opportunity in the law -- that's pretty reasonable, 19 I think -- when there is no expectation of privacy 20 that you can record a conversation without the person knowing that you're recording it. 21 22 You're in a public restaurant and 23 somebody sitting at the next table and they can hear 24 everything that you're saying, then what they're

saying to you isn't private in my humble opinion.

I'm not very humble.

- Q. But this concept for an investigation into public officials with respect to the sanctuary cities, is it your testimony that it never got to the point of identifying specific folks you wanted to set out to record?
- A. That's correct. We never really got to the point at least in the state of Massachusetts where we had specific individuals targeted. What I would have done had we had the opportunity is I would have looked around, see who the great advocates for it. Those probably would have potentially be our targets whether they be legislatures, governors, mayors, school teachers, deputy attorney generals, or whomever would be people I would consider talking to.
 - Q. That hasn't yet happened?
- A. That is correct.

Q. Also with respect to this idea of an investigation involving sanctuary cities, is it also your testimony that never got to the point of identifying specific locations to secretly record those folks?

223 1 Α. That's correct. We never got that far. The third potential investigation that's 2 Q. 3 listed in response to interrogatory number nine reads, Protest management efforts to the Antifa 4 protest in downtown Boston on August 19, 2017, that 5 6 would focus on private individuals and public 7 officials. Do you see where I just read that? Yes, sir. 8 A. Were you involved in that idea for a 9 0. potential investigation? 10 11 Α. Yes, sir. 12 Q. And who did PVA desire to secretly record in Massachusetts for that one? 13 Α. The demonstrators at the event and any 14 public officials and anyone else that might be 15 involved in that event. 16 Where did that event take place? 17 0. 18 Α. I think it was a park -- I thought it 19 was a park somewhere in Boston. I don't think it 20 was the Common. I don't know Boston that well. Again, I hear about these things. Somebody said to 21 22 me -- I mean, we believe the Antifa movement in this 23 country is a dangerous and scary thing. So, we're 24 investigating it. We keep an eye on it.

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1 We had an undercover journalist in Charlottesville. We wanted to see what happened at 2 That was a horrific event that an that event. 3 innocent person lost their life because of crazy 4 5 people. 6 We're interested in exposing anybody and 7 everybody who in a situation like that do something that we believe is improper, illegal, or, you know, 8 not in the best interest of our country. So, I try 9 to make sure that when there's an Antifa or other 10 11 kind of event like that going on that we send 12 undercover journalists to see what's going on. Now, sometimes it's all good, they're 13 all nice people, and they have signs and sing 14 15 Kumbaya. That's a beautiful thing. 16 We did an investigation of the DJ20 events surrounding the Trump inauguration. 17 18 were planning to set off butyric acid smoke bombs at 19 an inaugural event, which could have been very 20 dangerous and was certainly criminal. When we exposed that, and we had 21 22 undercover recording of them planning that 23 operation, we took it to D.C. Metro Police, the FBI, Secret Service, and that led to arrests and 24

225 1 prosecutions. The Washington Post in that case said 2 that our investigation validates our practices 3 because it led to a crime not occurring that we 4 believe and law enforcement authorities believe 5 6 would have occurred or could have occurred. 7 Are you aware of any of these Antifa Q. type of events that occurred in Massachusetts since 8 August 19, 2017, that PVA tired to secretly record 9 but didn't? 10 11 Α. We know based on our reporting that 12 there are Antifa elements within the Commonwealth of 13 Massachusetts and we would love to investigate. 14 And so let's take a quick look at 0. 15 Exhibit 5, the response to interrogatory number 16 nine, see that the fourth potential investigation listed is ongoing and future Antifa or related 17 18 protests occurring in Boston. 19 At this point we're talking about both 20 the specific event on August 19, 2017, and ongoing and future similar events. Who would PVA record in 21 22 connection with those concepts? 23 A. I don't know. I will repeat myself.

Based on our reporting, our investigation, which has

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been going on for well over a year into Antifa and their activities, we believe that there are Antifa elements within the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and we would like to investigate them, and we believe the only way to successfully investigate them and to keep an eye on their activities is with undercover investigative techniques. That is who we are.

- Q. Where would such undercover journalist recordings have taken place?
- A. Well, in other areas such as New York state, such as California, such as Atlanta, such as Virginia where we have done reporting and even North Carolina and the District of Columbia where we have done investigations into Antifa, what we do is we try to infiltrate the organization so we can find out what they're doing and who they are.

We don't know who they are in

Massachusetts. We have very good sources within the

Antifa organization -- Antifa is not like a -- it's

not like a football team. It's more like a loose

association of independent groups that kind of fall

under same ideological banner. They don't all know

each other. They operate in a covert and secretive

227 1 manner. We've been able to -- we've had some 2 success in investigating them in the past and we 3 hope in the future. Based on our reporting, we 4 5 believe that there are active Antifa elements in the 6 Commonwealth of Massachusetts. 7 0. Do you know where those folks are? No. 8 A. Can I ask you to pull Exhibit 26 out of 9 Q. the stack there? 10 11 Α. Yes, I am looking at Exhibit 26. 12 Q. Have you seen that e-mail thread before? You know, I'm not sure that I -- I don't 13 A. see my name on it. So, if I wasn't cc'd, then I 14 15 probably didn't see it. I don't read other people's 16 e-mail. I think that's impolite, so I don't. I'm sent an e-mail, I try to read it. 17 I don't see 18 my name on here. I think that is the first time 19 I've ever seen this. 20 I guess then my question is you had 0. earlier mentioned that PVA at one time desired to 21 22 make secret recordings with respect to Harvard 23 University in Massachusetts. The proposal that's described by Mr. O'Keefe in Exhibit 26, is that that 24

228 1 same idea that you were testifying a moment ago? No, I have no idea what he's talking 2 A. about, but, you know, he'll know. You can ask him. 3 So, the idea that you were talking 4 0. about, if it's different from Exhibit 26, tell me 5 6 about your idea. 7 Α. I don't remember what specifically the I recall there was some story about 8 money -- what was it -- federal grants, the number 9 It was 10 of grants, the amount of grants to Harvard. 11 some story in -- I think it was the Times or the 12 Washington Post. I felt it would be interesting to talk 13 14 to them about how much federal money they get when 15 they have this huge freaking endowment that they 16 have where they could basically buy the state of 17 Massachusetts or at least let everybody go to 18 college for free. 19 I think their greed and their avarice 20 and their kind of smugness is something that I would love to talk to them about. I think it would be 21 22 interesting, maybe even amusing. 23 Q. Who's them? 24 Administrators, the president of the Α.

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1 university, deans, professors. I would be curious as to -- I have this thesis in my career or have had 2 this thesis in my career, you talk to people, you 3 find things out. 4 We might -- like I said, literally 5 6 dozens and dozens and dozens of time in my almost 7 four years at Project Veritas and Project Veritas Action, we've launched investigations that have 8 turned out to be nothing where our premise or our 9 tip or our idea was, in fact, either incorrect or we 10 11 couldn't get it. We couldn't get across that goal 12 It's happened for my entire career. 13 just the cost of doing business and the price of 14 doing business, but it doesn't mean that you 15 shouldn't do it. 16 You know, fisherman catch fish because they throw their nets out every day. 17 18 because they know every time they throw their net 19 out it's going to get filled up with fish. 20 it because they believe there's fish out there, and 21 if they throw the net in the right place, they might 22 catch some fish. And that's what we do. 23 We go out, we have a tip or an idea or 24 we have a concept when we're operating in a

230 1 one-party consent state, which is in line with the Constitution of the United States, the American 2 Constitution and the First Amendment, and we cast 3 our net. 4 I would cast a net at Harvard. We did 5 6 it at Columbia. We did it at Princeton and Yale. 7 We did it at Yale. Even though Connecticut is a two-party consent state, there's no expectation of 8 privacy issue there. So, we can bounce around that 9 law because it's not quite as stringent as the 10 11 Commonwealth's law. 12 Q. Who did you record at -- who did you record at Yale? 13 Α. At Yale it was a -- I think it was like 14 15 a -- it was, like, a student counselor/advisor that 16 colleges -- when I went to college there were college professionals and there was a college 17 president and a dean. 18 Now there's a whole other 19 layer of bureaucracy at American colleges that deal 20 with such things as whether or not people feel like they're being triggered. I think that's crazy. 21 22 That was the story we were doing. 23 Basically we had an undercover journalist who suggested that the constitution bothered her; that 24

231 1 she didn't like the constitution and that it 2 triggered her. There is this new word on college 3 campuses about triggering. The administrators in several cases 4 actually helped our undercover journalist destroy a 5 6 copy of the constitution, and we thought it was 7 It wasn't a big story, wasn't important, but it was amusing. 8 What was really interesting was when we 9 continued to do this kind of investigation, we went 10 11 to the University of North Carolina and we went to 12 this college administrator, same story, whole thing, 13 and the college administrator looked at our 14 undercover journalist and said, you know what, you 15 need to get a grip. I'm not going to help you destroy the constitution. You need to talk to a 16 17 psychiatrist or a psychologist because you've got a 18 problem. 19 What's so interesting about that is 20 that's what all the rest of them should have said It was ridiculous. It was literally this 21 too. 22 undercover journalist suggested that when she saw 23 the constitution it created this great anxiety. 24 Look, that investigation wasn't our

232 1 finest hour of journalism, but my point is that we 2 operate and do investigations in a lot of public institutions across the country. We can't do that 3 in states where we can't do undercover reporting, so 4 we don't. What's going on at Harvard? 5 6 know. 7 Did you identify one or more Q. administrators at Harvard comparable to the ones you 8 found on the Yale and Columbia and Princeton at UNC 9 that you desired to record at Harvard? 10 11 Α. No, we just show up and we talk to 12 whoever is there. We try to get as high on the food 13 chain as we can get. Sometimes we will specifically identify a specific subject we want to talk to when 14 15 there's a specific investigation. 16 Going back to Democracy Parters, Foval gave us Robert Creamer's name. Once Foval said Bob 17 18 Creamer, okay, we specifically targeted Robert 19 Again, in that investigation we didn't Creamer. know we were going to meet Zulema Rodriguez until 20 our undercover journalist had met Zulema Rodriguez. 21 22 We didn't target her. What we tend to do most of the time, we 23

tend to target an institution or an organization.

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We can do -- by the way, it's really snowing out there, not dressed for this.

- Q. I mean, it sounds like the approach you're describing makes it very difficult to know in advance who PVA might be recording, where PVA might be recording that person, and what PVA might capture them saying?
 - A. Just like an undercover cop --
 - Q. Is that right?

A. You're absolutely right. Just like an undercover cop who wants to investigate a drug organization. Because you guys can wire tap people and lots of other things that you guys can do, which I'm in favor of as long as a judge approves it, that undercover investigator or undercover cop, undercover state police, doesn't know who is going to give him states evidence, doesn't know where the investigation leads.

What you do commonly in those kinds of investigations is you say to the undercover cop, this gang is selling a lot of drugs on the south side. Let's get you involved in that gang and find out who is in charge and how that works. That's how it works. We operate in somewhat a similar way.

234 1 What we target for the most part is 2 organizations, institutions, and then we determine -- once we get into the door, then we can 3 become more refined and focus as to whom we want to 4 talk to, who's pulling the strings and who's the 5 6 power. 7 In the Democracy Partners investigation, that is a perfect example of this. Scott Foval was 8 a pure serendipitous event. We sort of knew who he 9 We certainly didn't know what he was going to 10 was. 11 say. He led us to Bob Creamer. From there we were 12 able to lock down this incredible story. We don't -- most of our 13 14 investigations -- most is not a great word, but I 15 would say a large percentage of our investigations 16 we don't necessarily have a specific person who 17 we're targeting because we don't know who that is 18 yet. 19 We're journalists. We don't know the 20 end of the investigation at the beginning just like law enforcement doesn't know who they're ultimately 21 22 going to charge and prosecute when they're doing an

Q. So, by the same token, you can't really

investigation of a drug gang or a crime syndicate.

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235 1 predict where these recordings will take place? I can tell if you we were doing a 2 Α. Harvard investigation, it would happen most likely 3 on a Harvard campus. 4 That's a big place. 5 Q. 6 Α. Indeed, but it's not insurmountable. 7 Q. Sitting in the dean's office versus in the library versus Widener Hall versus, you know, 8 park bench out on the yard versus walking down Mount 9 Auburn Street, you just can't say what location 10 11 these secret recordings would be taken, can you? 12 Α. No, I can't, but I would tell you without any doubt that it would be within the 13 14 Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and those secret 15 recordings in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts at 16 this moment in time are illegal. On the interrogatory responses, 17 0. Exhibit 5, let me ask you to --18 19 I'm sorry, Exhibit 5? A. 20 Exhibit 5. Q. 21 A. Yep, I got it. 22 Let me ask you to flip to page seven. Q. 23 Follow with me as interrogatory number 11 asks PVA to identify each step it's taken in furtherance of 24

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would say why don't we go try to have conversations with police officers attached to the Beverly Police Department and find out if we can get them to talk about this practice of soliciting bribes from businesses.

- Q. Are you aware of any such particular opportunities for PVA as you sit here today?
- A. No, not specifically. I think that my experience is that, sadly, there are innumerable opportunities for the kind of reporting and investigations that we do in every state of the union and the District of Columbia and probably Puerto Rico and Guam.
- Q. Does PVA have any present intention to record a particular person in secret in a particular place in a particular way doing a particular thing or saying a particular thing?
 - A. Outside of Massachusetts?
 - Q. In Massachusetts.
- A. Not in Massachusetts, no, that would be against the law. We can't do that. I would love to probably secretly record a whole bunch of people because that's what I do. I think it is a very important and valuable kind of journalism. We don't

238 1 have any plans to because we can't. It's against the law, and we don't break the law. 2 3 I'm going to pull the computer screen Q. back up again. Looking at the jump drive that 4 5 earlier today we marked as Exhibit 39, I'm going to 6 take a look at a couple of files. 7 First, going down into the folder on that jump drive titled Jump Drive 30(b)(6) Videos 8 and sub-folder RDP15, I'm going to play the first 9 file there titled 15-P23, Grimes Campaign Workers, 10 11 and that's an MP4 file. Do you see that where I'm 12 opening it? 13 Yes, sir, I do. A. 14 (Video played) 15 BY MR. HASKELL: I've paused that film fifteen seconds 16 Q. Do you recognize this file that we're 17 18 beginning to view here? 19 Yes, I produced this story, and I was A. 20 very happy when I found this TV ad that was produced by the Alison Grimes campaign. It made me very 21 22 happy. 23 Q. The one that's up on the screen? 24 Α. Correct.

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1	A. You know, I don't I think it's
2	New Hampshire.
3	MR. KLEIN: Can we play more?
4	THE WITNESS: I've been in a lot
5	of cars in a lot of places. I'm sixty
6	years old. I've been in lots of cars.
7	MR. KLEIN: Take your time.
8	(Video played)
9	BY MR. HASKELL:
10	Q. I'm going to pause here at one minute
11	and fifteen seconds into it. Do you recognize this
12	movie at this point?
13	A. I don't, I'm sorry. I really don't.
14	I've been to a lot of places. I think that's James
15	O'Keefe. I just don't remember exactly where that
16	was. We've been to a lot of places.
17	Q. Once more drilling down into Exhibit 39,
18	Jump Drive Raw Videos, opening sub-folder titled
19	RDP18-2 and the sub-folder underneath that titled
20	"A," there's one MP4 file in there whose name ends
21	'2900. Do you see me opening that on the screen on
22	the side of the conference room?
23	A. Yes, I do.
24	(Video played)

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1	BY MR. HASKELL:
2	Q. I've paused this video twenty seconds
3	into it. Do you recognize this video that we're
4	watching?
5	A. I do I recognize this one.
6	Q. What is it?
7	A. This is a recording with a union
8	official in I don't remember the city, but I
9	believe it's Kansas. His name is Steve Wentz, and
10	he's talking about hitting kids and seeming to brag
11	about it.
12	Q. And this file that we've begun to watch
13	here, is this the raw video underlying a video
14	report that Project Veritas later published?
15	A. I believe it is.
16	Q. Let me ask, the person recording this
17	scene here is a Project Veritas undercover reporter;
18	right?
19	A. Correct.
20	Q. A male or female? Would it help to play
21	some more of the video?
22	A. It would.
23	Q. Let's do it.
24	(Video played)

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1	Mr. Wentz to see if we could get him to elaborate on
2	the story.
3	Q. Let's take a step back. The video at
4	the bar in Florida at the teachers union conference
5	was captured before the video of this meeting at the
6	restaurant in Wichita?
7	A. Absolutely.
8	Q. Okay. And it was the video at the bar
9	in Florida that was taken by the female PVA
10	undercover; right?
11	A. Correct.
12	Q. How did they get to be at the teachers
13	union conference, you said?
14	A. Yes.
15	Q. How did she get to be there?
16	A. I think she flew.
17	Q. Was she sent there as part of a Project
18	Veritas investigation?
19	A. Indeed she was.
20	Q. Were you involved in planning that
21	investigation?
22	A. Yes, I was.
23	Q. Did she attend the entire conference?
24	A. No, I don't even think as I recall, I

248 1 don't think she actually attended the conference. think what she did as she's one of our better -- was 2 one of our better journalists, I think what I told 3 her to do was hang out at the bar. I said, I've 4 been to conferences in my life and people go to bars 5 6 and especially men go to bars and they like to brag. 7 It's a good place to get conversations and content. If you sit at the bar and you dress nice and you 8 look nice and you talk to people and you're alone, 9 men will talk to you. This conference was primarily 10 11 teachers union officials. I figured some teachers 12 union officials would go to the bar and talk about 13 what they do. 14 Q. How old was this young woman at the time? 15 She's in her twenties. 16 Α. Okay. So, did she specifically seek out 17 0. 18 Mr. Wentz? 19 Absolutely not. This was another Α. 20 situation which again as you have seen, as we've gone through, this happens to us so many times and 21 22 that's why, you know, when we talk about things we 23 would do in Massachusetts, we don't know who we 24 would investigate. We don't know who the corrupt

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249 people are. We don't know who the lawbreakers are. We don't know who the bad quys are. The only way we find that out is to go out there and put ourselves in situations where we can encounter and converse with those people. It's a very imprecise profession, journalism. Like I said, I've been doing this a I spent three and a half years covering long time. the war in Bosnia and in and out of Sarajevo. Ι never knew what was going to happen. I knew we wanted to talk to people who were victims of the war or prosecutors of the war. I sort of knew where some of them were. One day we drove down a road and came across one of the infamous rape camps where there were young women literally tied to buildings, and these Serb quards didn't like us and told us to go We were actually able to film it. away. It was a big story at the time. We don't know whom we're going to investigate. In this case, Steve Wentz went to the bar where our journalist was and started telling this story. I don't think our journalist knew that

he was a teachers union person until he told us

250 1 that. Her job was to go to these kinds of events and basically talk to people and see what she could 2 find out. The business of undercover journalism to 3 a large extent is being at the right place at the 4 right time and listening. 5 6 0. In your experience a bar is a pretty 7 good odds place to do that? A. It's just logical. People in bars are 8 They are -- it tends to be a really 9 killing time. relaxed conversational place. In this particular 10 11 case it was important for us to be in a bar. 12 Florida is a two-party consent state, but if there 13 is no expectation privacy, we can do our job, we can 14 be journalists and we can -- the law in Florida 15 allows for undercover recording of people who don't 16 know you're recording them if it's in a public place and there's no expectation of privacy. 17 18 Bar in Florida is really good for us 19 because there's a bartender, there's other 20 customers, and there was a guy sitting next to him who was kind of involved in the conversation, sort 21 22 of half in and half out. There were people walking 23 by, people sitting in other areas of the bar.

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We always ask this question because I

252 1 When you sit at a bar -- the social paradigm in this culture is when you're at a bar it 2 is not at all strange to talk to somebody you don't 3 If you're sitting at a table in a restaurant, 4 that's very strange to do that. When you're in a 5 6 elevator, it's pretty strange to talk to people. 7 talk to people all the time. Bars are one of the unique social 8 environments where you can talk to strangers and 9 strangers are willing to talk to you. 10 It's one of 11 the unique areas of our social and political life 12 where you can talk to a stranger and they will talk to you and everybody thinks it's perfectly normal. 13 14 In undercover journalism where we are 15 trying to talk to people who otherwise we may not be 16 able to talk to, bars serve a very valuable purpose because of that social phenomenon. 17 18 Ο. I'm going to play a segment of the 19 video, the 17K Teachers Union President to Kid video beginning at time stamp 2:19. We're going to play 20 through 3:09. 21 22 (Video played) 23 BY MR. HASKELL: So, in your own words, what did we just 24 0.

253 1 see there? Mr. Wentz saying that he has threatened 2 Α. physical violence on several of his students in the 3 past. 4 (Marked Exhibit 48, Screen Shot) 5 6 BY MR. HASKELL: 7 Do you recognize Exhibit 48? Q. It's a screen grab of the video that I 8 A. produced that Project Veritas did on Steve Wentz. 9 10 Q. From the segment that we just watched? 11 Α. Correct. 12 Q. Okay. What was the PVA undercover 13 journalist, the female in the bar in Florida here, what was her cover story to Mr. Wentz? 14 15 You know, I don't think there was much A. 16 Wentz was the kind of guy who liked to hear his own voice. He didn't ask a lot of questions. 17 18 He's like a lot like a man. He's a braggart and a 19 loud mouth. I don't think he asked her. Usually, 20 typically we would say in a situation like that, keep your cover story real simple. Don't over 21 22 complicate it. 23 Some undercover journalists have a 24 tendency if you give them a complex cover story

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there's tendency to blather it out, which is not normal. In fact, I try to tell our undercover journalists to answer a question if it's asked. You don't have to tell people where you went to school, what your mother's name was, how many brothers or sisters you have and how many of them are divorced unless somebody asks you.

- Q. Did the undercover journalist in this video suggests to Mr. Wentz that she was a young teacher or an education student or interested in getting involved in teaching?
- A. She might have. She might have in order to get him talking about it. Yeah, you know what, now that you mention that, that sounds familiar. I mean, it was an education conference. It would have made sense for us to come up with something like that. This again was one of our finest journalists. This young woman was so remarkably talented and smart and quick on her feet that she may have come up with that at the moment. She's a remarkable young woman and I miss her dearly, but we're still friends.
- Q. I'm going to shut down the published video report. Back to raw video RDP15-2 sub-folder

255 1 "A" to the '2900.MP4 file, and I'm going to open Do you see me doing that? 2 that now. Α. Yes, I do. 3 I think we discussed earlier that this 4 0. is the raw video underneath the segment of the 5 6 published video with Mr. Wentz that we just viewed? 7 That's correct. You can tell it's the Α. raw video because in the produced released video the 8 man you see on the screen now who was not a 9 participant of the conversation, other than sort of 10 11 just being there, we blurred his face in the 12 published video. We have no desire to expose anyone. We don't want to embarrass this guy or make 13 14 him feel bad. I'm not interested in hurting people, 15 especially people who are totally innocent who 16 happen to be sitting next to bar next to this guy. I'm going to play a portion of the raw 17 0. 18 I'm looking at starting at time 19 stamp 8:42 and continuing through 9:35. I'm going 20 to ask you to watch that, please, as I play it. (Video played) 21 22 BY MR. HASKELL: 23 Q. So, I paused it at 9:36 actually. Is it 24 fair to say that the segments that we just viewed in

256 1 the raw video corresponds to the same footage that 2 we viewed together a moment ago in the published video? 3 Α. Yes, it is. 4 Where we've paused the video at 5 Q. 6 9:36 here, it looks like Mr. Wentz has raised his 7 right hand and forefinger and began to say "now." 8 Did you catch that? A. Yes. 9 I'm going to keep playing from 9:36. 10 Q. 11 (Video played) 12 BY MR. HASKELL: Mr. Wentz just said, "Now, here's the 13 If you work hard in here, I will 14 caveat to that. walk through fire for you." Is that correct? 15 16 Α. Yes. And was that portion that we just saw in 17 the raw video, did that make it into the published 18 19 video? 20 I don't believe it did. Α. Let's continue playing from 9:42 where 21 Q. 22 I've paused it forward. 23 (Video played) 24 BY MR. HASKELL:

257 1 Q. The last thing I've paused it at 9:56, Mr. Wentz just told the PVA journalist, "That's not 2 something you can share in a college of education 3 class and that's obviously not a tool that you could 4 5 use"; is that right? 6 A. I believe so. 7 (Video played) 8 BY MR. HASKELL: And I've just played and paused it at 9 Q. time stamp 10:00. Did you catch Mr. Wentz say, "The 10 11 point is to be real with some of these kids"? 12 Α. Mm-hmm. Yes, I'm sorry. I did hear that, indeed. 13 14 Q. Thank you. 15 Forgive me. Α. 16 (Video played) BY MR. HASKELL: 17 I've paused it at 10:39. That 39-second 18 0. 19 clip that we just listened to, fair to say Mr. Wentz 20 was describing an encounter he had some twenty years on with a student with whom he had had one of these 21 22 come-to-Jesus type encounters? 23 Α. Correct. And Mr. Wentz also just said a moment 24 0.